TWO STUDIES IN THE SEMANTICS OF THE VERB IN CLASSICAL GREEK

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C.J. RUIJGH, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

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C.M.J. SICKING AND P. STORK

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BY

C.M.J. SICKING

AND

P. STORK

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the late M.L. Sicking-Meyjes

This book consists of two parts which, both of them, deal with the semantics of the Greek verb. For the first part, C.M.J. Sicking is solely responsible. The second part is the result of cooperation of C.M.J. Sicking and P. Stork.

CMJS
PS

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PART I

ASPECT CHOICE

TIME REFERENCE OR DISCOURSE FUNCTION?

BY

C.M.J. SICKING

PREFACE

The present study seeks to apply to the description of the contrast between aorist (AS) and present stem (PS) verb forms in Ancient Greek a number of concepts that have been developed in the field of discourse analysis. Although the problem I want to tackle belongs to the field of language studies, I have had in mind a reading public of classicists who may care to find out whether – and how – the description of this much-discussed grammatical category may affect their interpretation of the texts they are concerned with. So I have tried to have minimal recourse to the linguistic jargon which, regrettably, has made many a classicist disregard the findings of those who occupy themselves with language as a subject in its own right.

I have attempted to provide a specific and explicit account of the actual functioning of AS and PS forms in their contexts: after all, Herodotus, whose *Histories* I have chosen as my primary 'data base', was an accomplished writer of sophisticated prose, who has a right to our not contenting ourselves with some broad generalizations, but making a real effort to find out the precise consequences of his having preferred one way of expressing himself to another. Scholars who work in the field of discourse analysis will have no difficulty in 'translating' what I have to say into the terminology (or: terminologies) they are used to, so as to see whether my results come up to their standards.

I want to thank most especially Egbert Bakker, who first made me aware of the potential of discourse analysis in studying the semantics of the Greek verb. Much of what is written here was inspired by discussions we had during the time he worked as a member of the Leiden department of Greek. How much I owe to him also appears from the references to his publications at crucial points of the argument below.

I further wish to record a debt to Peter Stork, who carefully scrutinized my text and, by playing the role of the devil's advocate, saved me from many errors and, in many places, made me reconsider and, hopefully, improve my argument. This study probably would never have been finished without the comradeship and encouragement of Marlein van Raalte: I have tried to respond as well as I could to her unique way of asking the kind of quasi simple questions that help one discover the flaws in one's argument.

CMJS
Leiden, april 1996

PURPOSE AND PLAN

The primary aim of this study is to define testable criteria which may have guided the Ancient Greek speaker in his choice between forms of the aorist stem (hereafter: AS) and forms of the present stem (PS). In an earlier study[1] that was devoted to the same subject, I more or less limited myself to the indicative in main clauses, and the imperative, and promised to come back to the interpretation of AS and PS in past subclauses introduced by ὡς, ἐπεί(τε) and ἐπειδή and in participial clauses (conjunct participles and genitive absolute constructions). These two construction types seem to have provided one of the principal motives for the popularity of the pair 'completed versus not completed' as a candidate for the (semantic) content of the contrast between AS and PS. There are, indeed, numerous instances in which AS in subordinate clauses refers to an action which, in the reality referred to, is *in fact* prior to another action mentioned in the context, or PS to an action which is not completed at the start of another one.[2] To take one out of many examples: many classicists will take it that, in

> δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης[3] τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (Thuc. 1.13.1)

γιγνομένης and ποιουμένης convey that, at the moment the establishment of tyrannies began, the process of increase of Greek power and wealth was still going on – whereas the corresponding aorist participles would have indicated that it had come to an end.

I will, however, argue that[4]

– the 'distribution' of AS and PS cannot be successfully explained if we take it that the speaker's decision to adopt one of the two 'competing' forms is motivated by his wish to convey information of any kind regarding either the 'facts' that are being described (or evoked) as such, or their chronology and/or temporal relationship. In numer-

---

[1] Sicking 1991.

[2] According to Ruijgh, (1985, 15) PS will be used when the two have at least one moment in common, the 'cas limite' being that there is no observable time gap between the one and the other: 'la simultanéité implique donc qu'il n'y a pas d'intervalle entre A et B, c'est à dire que A et B ont en commun au moins un seul moment'.

[3] γενομένης gm [Π[19]]. Cf. note 148.

[4] Cf. Section 6.

ous instances, one may well substitue PS for AS (or *vice versa*) without having to alter the truth-conditions of what is communicated.

– information about the chronology and/or temporal relationship between different actions, if at all desired, must be gathered from the context and/or from the properties of the situation(s) referred to rather than from the presence of AS or PS.

– in order to understand the basic content of the contrast between AS and PS as such, one has to leave aside considerations of 'meaning' or reference, and to bring in considerations of pragmatic function and discourse organisation.

The development of discourse analysis can be seen as a broadening of the scope of linguistic studies by looking beyond the immediate sentence so as to discover properties of language which are not accessible to sentence-level investigation. An important consequence of this is that we have learnt to reckon with the possibility that many language phenomena cannot be explained in terms of reference, or of 'meaning' in the truth-functional sense: we have to take into consideration both the surrounding discourse and the so-called pragmatic function of the expression involved as factors which may affect a speaker's choice of one expression or another.

I will argue that the description of AS and PS, in Ancient Greek, is a case in point – the speaker's choice between the two being crucially, even primarily, affected by considerations regarding the so-called pragmatic (and/or discourse) function of the verb form in question. So I do not share the belief of many classicists that 'time relationship' between actions is the crucial criterium that made Greek writers opt for AS or PS. When considerations of time relationship, or of reference in general do come into play, this is not to be ascribed to any *semantic* content of the contrast as such: it can best be described as a side-effect of the way some categories of verb forms (indicatives and particples among them) are used in certain types of context.

As far as I can see, the contrast between AS and PS, in Greek, serves purposes that are similar to what, in spoken English, can be done by means of shifting the nucleus of a tone unit. One may compare, for instance,

Brendel had decided not to play the Bràhms concerto (but the Schumann)

with

Brendel had decided not to plày the Brahms concerto (but to rush through it)

and observe that, by merely shifting the nucleus one may even alter the truth conditions of two utterances, that, in all other respects are perfectly alike: in the latter sentence, the audience got a bad

performance of Brahms' music, in the former they got no Brahms at all.[5]

In Greek, a similar result can be obtained by using a present infinitive in the former sentence, an aorist infinitive in the latter. A case in point is, for instance,

> πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ 'Απρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἄμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπάρας ἀπεματάϊσε καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε 'Απρίῃ *ἀπάγειν*. (Hdt. II.162[3])
>
> When Apries heard of this, he sent Patarbemis, a distinguished member of his court, with orders to bring Amasis alive into his presence. Amasis, however, in answer to Patarbemis' summons, rose in his saddle (he was on horseback), broke wind, and told him to take thàt back to Apries.

compared with

> κατατίθεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι *ἀπαγαγεῖν* τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλά μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλιον. (Hdt. VI.118[3])
>
> Datis had the statue placed in their temple for safe keeping, and instructed the Delians to take it back to Delium, a place in Theban territory, on the sea-coast opposite Chalcis. This charge given, Datis left the island. But the Delians did not restore the statue. Twenty years after that, the Thebans themselves brought it to Delium, being so commanded by an oracle.

The temporal characteristics that obtain in the reality referred to are perfectly alike: in both cases someone is ordered to bring something back. What is relevant for the choice of PS and AS respectively is that ἀπάγειν and ἀπαγαγεῖν have a different 'pragmatic' function. In the former passage, the issue is not whether Patarbemis is to bring back something to Apries, but that he is to bring back a token of Amasis' contempt instead of the man himself (*you have order to bring me to Amasis? This is what you may take back*: ἄπαγε τοῦτο). So τοῦτο is the prominent element.

In the latter passage, the order is to *bring* the statue *back* to where it belongs (ἀπαγάγατε τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐς Δήλιον). Substituting ἀπάγειν for ἀπαγαγεῖν would result in making ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων into the prominent element of the order.

---

[5] Cf. Section 4.1.

I have taken as a point of departure Hettrich's *Kontext und Aspekt in der altgriechischen Prosa Herodots* (1976). Hettrich's study aims at testing the validity of Ruijgh's interpretation of the contrast between AS and PS: if, as Ruijgh has it, the speaker's choice of AS or PS is determined by the temporal relationship ('rapport temporel') between the action referred to and a reference point in time (a 'moment donné', provided by the context or the situation),[6] then, according to Hettrich, this must apply to so-called 'temporal'[7] subclauses and participles:[8] 'sollte sich an Hand derartigen Materials eine solche Deutung ergeben, kann man sie auch dort anzuwenden suchen, wo der Kontext keine Anhaltspunkte liefert.'

I will first discuss the material studied by Hettrich (Section 1), and then

– discuss (Section 2) a number of instances not dealt with by him, so as to account for certain differences 1) between 'preposed' subordinate clauses[9] and those which are placed after the main clause ('postposed');

– on the basis of a preliminary conclusion (Section 3), attempt to define a basic value for the contrast between AS and PS that will account for the way they are used in different types of context (Sections 4 and 6);

– test my results against three larger stretches of narrative text taken from Herodotus and Thucydides (Section 5), and a number of instances of the so-called Dynamic Infinitive (Section 7).

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[6] Ruijgh 1971, 229 ff. For a modification of his view, together with a discussion of several types of usage, see Ruijgh 1985. Cf. also Ruijgh 1991.

[7] For Hettrich's way of using this concept see his p. 21-22.

[8] Hettrich 20: 'die eine Zeitverhältnis-deutung der Tempusstämme auch durch Berücksichtigung des näheren oder weiteren Kontextes nahelegen'.

[9] I will use the term 'subclauses' for referring to ὡς-, ἐπεί- and ἐπειδή-clauses, 'subordinate clauses' to cover subclauses and participles together.

1. HETTRICH'S 'RULE'

From a discussion of 29 characteristic instances Hettrich concludes (p. 31) that the actual distribution of PS and AS does support the following thesis, or 'rule' ('Regel'): 'Wenn der Sprecher zwei oder mehr Handlungen darstellt und dafür die behandelten syntaktischen Konstruktionen wählt, kann er den Tempus-Stamm des untergeordneten Verbs (B-Glied) nicht nach eigenem, 'subjektiven' Ermessen wählen, sondern ist an die zeitlichen Bedingungen dieser Handlungen (...) gebunden. Liegt dort zwischen zwei dieser Handlungen ein zeitlicher Abstand, so steht das untergeordnete Verb im ASt. Überschneiden sich zwei dieser Handlungen oder löst die im übergeordneten Verb dargestellte die des untergeordneten Verbs ab (u.a. im Inzidenzschema), so steht letzteres im PSt.'

Thus formulated, the rule does not cover such instances as

> τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, *καταλεγομένων* τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων (VII.1²)

or

> ἐνθεῦτεν ... ἤιε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγιρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα *παραμειβόμενος* (VII.115²).

In order to account for these 'inverse' instances[10] Hettrich has modified his rule in such a way that it becomes less sensitive to the syntactic function of the predicates involved: 'Innerhalb einer Reihe zusammenhängender Handlungen, Vorgänge oder Zustände ist der jeweils chronologisch folgende Vorgang A-Glied zu dem vorhergehenden. Der vorhergehende Vorgang (B-Glied) kann nur dann im PSt ausgedrückt werden, wenn er bei Einsetzen des folgenden Vorgangs noch nicht abgeschlossen ist. Der vorhergehende Vorgang kann nur dann im ASt ausgedrückt werden, wenn er abgeschlossen ist, bevor der folgende Vorgang beginnt.'[11]

It is to be noted that, in this form, the thesis implies that choosing AS or PS is not a matter of conveying to the hearer what temporal relationship obtains between two actions, but of 'coding' the rela-

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[10] It seems preferable to deal with instances like these by distinguishing between preposed and postposed participles c.q. subordinate clauses, rather than to treat them as a case of 'irregular' syntax. Cf. Bakker 1991, 233, who forcefully argues that 'there is a functional asymmetry between preposed and postposed adverbial clauses (...)' Cf. Section 2.

[11] Hettrich 34.

tionship that is observed in the reality referred to. In order to decide on the temporal relationship between an A- and a B-action, we may (or even have to) consult the context of the utterance in question: if, and only if, in the situation referred to, the 'B-action' is actually completed before the 'A-action', then AS would be the rule; if not, then we will find PS. This implies that the facts may conform to the rule regardless of whether the contrast 'completed versus not-completed' is or is not (part of) the semantic content of the contrast AS vs. PS. Even if all instances of the construction types discussed by Hettrich would conform to his rule, this *in itself* would not justify the inference that the semantic description of the contrast he has set out to test is correct: the suitability of AS for referring to completed B-actions in two types of construction may well owe its explanation to some other, not-'temporal', value of AS coinciding with some characteristic either of the contexts in question or of the verbal lexemes involved. If, however, it turns out that the rule is *not* confirmed by Herodotus' way of using AS and PS, this, surely, entails that the theory must be rejected.

From a sample of characteristic passages Hettrich concludes that the great majority of relevant instances actually confirm his hypothetic rule. He then goes on to discuss a number of cases where he finds the rule to be in need of some modification.[12] I will, in Section 1, follow this arrangement of the material, and discuss

1. the instances[13] that, according to Hettrich, support the view that the temporal relationship between the actions referred to is the decisive criterium for AS having been chosen rather than PS or vice versa.

2. the (groups of) instances which, according to Hettrich, would require some additional hypothesis.

In the following respects my treatment of the material differs from that of Hettrich:

– Since the choice of AS or PS in subordinate clauses as such does not seem to be affected by AS or PS having been chosen for the main verb (the 'A-action'), I do not systematically distinguish the instances where AS has been used for the 'A-action' from those where it is expressed by PS.

---

[12] Hettrich has limited himself to explicitly discussing only a selection of relevant instances. He has supplied, in an Appendix (his p. 98 ff.), full lists of all instances assigned by him to this category.

[13] All instances quoted are taken from Herodotus. I have followed the text of Hude. Translations are adapted from those by De Sélincourt and Godley. In many cases I have given more of the surrounding context than Hettrich has done, hoping thus to enable the reader to check my analysis without looking up the passages himself.

– Since distinguishing between subclauses and participles, in my opinion, is relevant to the subject, the two construction types will be discussed separately.

1.1. *Subclauses with aorist forms*

[1] ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρῆιξ ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἑκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀ ν ε χ ώ ρ η σ α ν (B) ἀσινέες πάντες ἓξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε (A) αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον. (VIII.116[2])

They joined up in the Persian army. All six of them came back safe and sound, and their father gouged their eyes out.

The subclause represents a distinct step in the narrated sequence: one may render the passage by substituting a paratactic clause for the subordinate one without thereby altering the 'truth conditions' of the statement. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες, apart from moving forward narrative time and taking the reader (back) to the scene of the action that will conclude Herodotus' story about the Thracian king, provides him with a piece of information that is as indispensable as it is relevant: if the young men had died on the battlefield that would have been their punishment, but now that they have returned, all of them, safe and sound, their father decides to give them their due.[14] If Herodotus had written ἀνεχώρουν, this would have had no consequences for the temporal relationship between the young men's return and their father's subsequent action: it would, however, transform the clause into a mere introduction to the main clause.[15]

[2] ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας (...) ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπ' ἡμέων αὐτῶν. ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτήματων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἦ λ θ ο ν (B) ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν (A) αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· (IV.114[4]–115[1])

---

[14] For the contribution of ἐπεί see Section 1.7.2.1.

[15] Regrettably, so far, little or no research has been done into the distribution of paratactic indicatives, participles (including the absolute genitive) and subordinate clauses in different types of texts. It is, however, a priori unlikely that want of knowledge of the considerations which may have made a writer of Greek prefer one of these construction types to another, would in itself seriously affect our understanding of the distribution of AS and PS. An attempt to tackle the problem for the historical prose of Xenophon will be made in a thesis that is being prepared by Michel Buijs, Leiden.

The young men agreed and did as they were told. Having got their portions of the family possessions they came back to the Amazons, and the women said to them (...).

Like the subclause in [1], ἐπείτε (...) ἦλθον can be seen as a separate narrative step – although, from a viewpoint of information, we would have been quite content if, instead of ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν (...) τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν κτλ., we had got something like: *ἐπείτε δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ἔλεξαν κτλ. Herodotus, however, first explicitly states that the young men did as they were advised – thus highlighting their abandoning their former way of life. With ἐπείτε ... ἦλθον, he not only takes the young men back to the Amazons but also focuses on their being now in possession of their inheritance, which will turn out to be of special importance: it proves to the Amazons the young men's resolve to keep them for their wives (115[3]: ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν κτλ.).

[3] τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη, ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς *ἐπήλασε* (B) τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε (A) αὐτούς, (...). (1.164[1])

About Harpagus we have been told previously (1.162[2]) that he has arrived in Ionia and has started capturing the Ionian cities – Phocaea being the first city he attacks (163[1]: πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίῃ ἐπεχείρησε). Then Herodotus goes on to inform us that the Phocaeans' wall had been paid for by king Agarthonius. The 'digression' devoted to this subject occupies the remaining part of chapter 163, and is concluded by the first part of the sentence I have quoted above (τὸ μὲν ... ἐξεποιήθη); then Herodotus returns to the story about Harpagus (ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος), at the same time moving it one small step forward: *to return to Harpagus: he brought his troops to Phocaea and laid siege to the city.*

[4] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ (...) ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδένι λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλὼν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν. ὡς δὲ *ἀπήλασε* (B) ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε (A) ὁ Πακτύης (...). (1.153[3]–154[1])

This is another instance of Herodotus' characteristic way of articulating his narrative: the narrative having been interrupted by a γάρ-clause, ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων recapitulates ἀπήλαυνε ... ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, at the same time making for a clear transition to a new paragraph, which will deal with a new topic (Pactyes) on the scene just left by Cyrus.

[5] δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ *παρέλαβε* (B) τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο (A) αὐτοῦ. (1.55[1])

Like the subclause in [4], ἐπείτε... ἀληθείην does not provide the reader with new information: it is Herodotus' ironical – not to say caustic – recapitulation of Croesus' over-optimistic interpretation of the famous answer from the oracle (1.53[3]–54[1]). By reminding the reader of this, Herodotus gets the starting point for explaining (γάρ) the fact that Croesus consulted the oracle yet another time. The particle δή,[16] together with the absence of an article with ἀληθείην, are Herodotus' means of intimating to the reader the dramatic irony of the sentence: *for, now that, as we know, he had got one 'true' answer, he became greedy for more.*

A different situation obtains in

[6] ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε. ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἁδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· (...) ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως *διαφθείρειε* (B), ἀπαλλάσσετο (A) ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων. ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἕνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφασία Μιλησίων ἐγένετο (...). (1.17[1]–18[1])

The passage contains Herodotus' description of the way Alyattes repeatedly[17] invaded the territory of the Milesians. For the moment, the main narrative is brought to a standstill: ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιορκέε ... ὀπίσω can be characterized as providing 'backgrounded' information (note γάρ) – which, by the way, accounts for Herodotus expressing himself in PS (ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐσέβαλλε, κατέβαλλε,[18] ἐνεπίμπρη, ἀπέσπα, ἔα, ἀπαλλάσσετο, ἐπολέμεε). AS is used only in two subclauses, both of them representing a separate step – and moving forward narrative time – *within* the embedded description. With ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, the story moves forward from Alyattes' invad-

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[16] For δή, cf. Sicking-Van Ophuijsen 1993, 52-3.

[17] Cf. Sicking 1991, 34: '(...) iterativity as such does not decide the choice of the aspect form: that actions are to be understood as iterative actions is made clear by grammatical means (the iterative suffix with the indicative, an optative) and/or by contextual indications.'

[18] ἐπολιόρκησε PR[1]SVB; ἐσέβαλε d; κατέβαλεν RSVb.

ing Milesian territory to his arriving at the city. Οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι contrasts a number of activities which are normal practice of generals engaged in besieging a city with Alyattes' actual behaviour; after that, ὅκως διαφθείρειε represents the last but one step in the embedded narrative: *he would merely destroy the trees and the crops, and retire.* After having provided some further explanation (γάρ, τῶνδε εἵνεκα), with ταῦτα ποιέων ... ἐπολέμεε ... ἐγένετο, Herodotus concludes his report of Alyattes' war.

It is to be noted that the verbs in [1]–[6] denote either a punctual (ἀνεχώρησαν, ἦλθον, ἀπήλασε) or a terminative action (παρέλαβε, ἐπήλασε, διαφθείρειε).[19]

1.2. *Subclauses with imperfect forms*

[7] ταῦτα εἴπας Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπείτε οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν *ἐπειρῶντο* (B), διεργάζοντο (A) αὐτούς. (v.20[5])

By acting in the way we have been led to expect the Persians provide the Macedonians with the opportunity they were looking for.

[8] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ *ὥρα* (B) ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε[20] (A) λόγον· (vii.160[1])

That Syagrus has no sympathy whatsoever with Gelon's wish to command the Greek forces we can infer ourselves from vii.159: by making it explicit from the viewpoint of Gelon Herodotus makes the reader see Gelon's motive for his final proposal.

[9] ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὁκόδαπος εἴη ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὡς *ἐβάλλοντο* (B) τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο (A) φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὁρμήθησαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. (vii.218[2-3])

The subclause tells us what we expected, at the same time shifting the perspective from the Persians to the Phocians.

[10] ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε *κατεκαίετο* (B) ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε (A) ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (...) καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ (...). (i.50[3])

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[19] For a discussion of the typology of actions involved cf. Sicking 1991, 39 ff.

[20] ἐξέφηνε SV.

The ἐπείτε-clause provides the reader with the frame of reference he needs for understanding κατέπεσε – which, otherwise, would have come totally unexpected.

[11] φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστιον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν (...) ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσαν λίνον. ὡς δὲ *παρεξήιε* (B)[21] ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο (A)· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίης οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κ.τ.λ. (V.12[2-3])[22]

The subclause presents the framework within which the main action is to be understood, at the same time facilitating the transfer of the reader's attention from the woman to Darius. παρεξῆλθε would have concluded the report about the woman, and thus have destroyed the connection between the woman's remarkable conduct and Darius' reaction to it.

In these passages, unlike, for instance, in [1], substituting a paratactic clause for the subordinate one would yield an unsatisfactory result: paraphrasing [7] by: 'the Persians made advances to the 'women' and the Macedonians stabbed them to death', or [10] by: 'the temple at Delphi burnt down and the statue of the lion fell from its base', is infelicitous. If one wanted to use a paratactic construction one would have to supply an indication of some connection between the subclause and the main clause:

[7] the Persians made advances to the 'women', and, for the Macedonians, this was the signal for stabbing them; [8] Gelon saw that Syagrus had spoken in a most unfriendly way, and so he made (or: and this made him come up with) his last proposal; [9] the Phocians were hit by a volley of arrows and, consequently, retreated; [10] the temple at Delphi burnt down and, as a result, the statue fell from its base.

As far as I can see, instances [1]–[11] do not support the thesis that Herodotus preferred PS to AS *because* he wanted to indicate that the actions referred to, overlap in time. If one does not a priori share Hettrich's view, there is no reason to accept his translation of [8] ('Als Gelon *sah*, daß Syagros sich ablehnend verhielt, machte er ihm daraufhin den letzten Vorschlag'): it is perfectly reasonable to read it in such a way that Gelon made his final proposal *after* having seen

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[21] Hettrich (27, note 21) rightly observes that Hdt. uses the suppletive παρεξελθεῖν as an AS alternative for παρεξιέναι cf., for instance I.197 and VI.117[3].

[22] I have left out one of Hettrich's instances: ὡς δέ οἱ παντελέως *εἶχε* (B) τὸ οἴκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἠφανίσθη (A) (IV.95[4]), since, with ἔχω + adverb, ἔσχε is not a viable alternative.

(= realized) that Syagrus was unlikely to accept his terms, and it seems perfectly irrelevant whether or not he continued being aware of this.

In [10], it is immaterial whether the lion fell from its base *during* or *after* the fire. In [7], we should, perhaps, suppose the Persians to have stopped pawing the Macedonian 'women' at the moment they were stabbed, rather than take it that, by writing PS, Herodotus has indicated that they were still doing so. If we wish at all to find out whether the actions do or do not overlap in time, we will have to visualize the situation referred to rather than reduce to one and the same formula what is in fact a variety of temporal relationships between different (types of) action(s).

It is to be noted that the verbs in [7], [8], [10] and [11] refer to a durative (ἐπειρῶντο, ὥρα) or to a terminative (κατεκαίετο, παρεξήιε) action. ἐβάλλοντο in [9] involves a plural patient, and can therefore be seen as a durative action.

1.3. *Aorist participles*

[12] ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ *ἐπιστάντα* (B) μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν (A) (...). (VII.12¹)[23]

[13] Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην ἐτύγχανε (...) Δημάρητος (...) ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα (...). οὗτος ὡνὴρ *πυθόμενος* τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορήν, *ἐλθών* (B), ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε[24] (A) λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, (...). (VII.3¹⁻²)

[14] (...) ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμήνειε ἡ στρατιὴ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *ἀναπυθόμενος* (B) δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε (A) ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη (...). (VII.25¹⁻²)

The AS participles can be described as instances of 'clause chaining': the use of (chains of) non-finite clauses instead of (several) clauses in sentence.[25] The participial clauses are *semantically* equivalent to paratactic clauses, referring to successive but not otherwise related actions: [12]: (...) *Xerxes dreamed that a man approached his bed and said to him* (...); [13]: *Demaratus heard about the dispute between Darius' sons, went to Xerxes and advised him* (...); [14]: *he carried out a survey and ordered to form provision dumps at the most convenient sites.*

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[23] In this instance, AS and PS are, strictly spoken, homonymous: ἐπιστάντα may (in Ionic) be read either as ἐπι-στάντα or as ἐπ-ιστάντα.

[24] συνεβούλευσε d.

[25] Cf. Section 1.7.3 and, for Herodotus' way of using this type of participles in narrative, Section 5.1.4.

[15] εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· *ἡμερώσας* (B) δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε (A) ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας (...). (VII.5²)

This passage only differs from [12]–[14] in that, here, the main verb is an imperative: Xerxes is advised first to go on with the task he already has in hand (specified by ἡμερώσας), and then to continue what Darius had begun: lead an army against Athens.[26]

Like subclauses with AS, AS participles can have a resumptive function, restating something that has been told earlier on, so as to make it into the start of a new thematic paragraph, and to secure a clear transition from one section of the narrative to another. A case in point is:

[16] (...) συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα *ἀποθανεῖν*, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι. *ἀποθανόντος* (B) δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε[27] (A) ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. (VII.4)

where the absolute genitive serves the purpose of doing away with Darius as a discourse topic. In

[17] τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγύπτιοι <οἱ>[28] ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω *δουλωθέντες* (B) ἀπέστησαν (A) ἀπὸ Περσέων. (VII.1³)[29]

δουλωθέντες serves, so to speak, as a cross-reference: it reminds the reader of a fact he already knows from the beginning of book III.

It is to be noted that the AS participles refer either to a punctual action (ἐπίσταντα, ἐλθών, ἀποθανόντος) or to a terminative one (ἡμερώσας, ἀναπυθόμενος, δουλωθέντες).

1.4. *Present participles*[30]

[18] τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος, *ἐλπίζων* (B) Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε (A) τὸ κελευόμενον. (VII.17¹)

After these words, Artabanus, expecting that he was going to prove that Xerxes was mistaken, did as he had been bidden.

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[26] Both ἡμερώσας and (the imperative) στρατηλάτεε remain under the scope of the courteous optative πρήσσοις: *my suggestion is that you* (...).

[27] ἀνεχώρεε(ν) d.

[28] Hude's addition of οἱ seems designed to prevent the possibility of reading δουλωθέντες as part of Herodotus' report of what happened 'in the fourth year'. It seems possible that ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες originates with a marginal gloss: one would, perhaps, have expected Herodotus to have written δεδουλωμένοι. Cf. VII.108¹: ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται.

[29] Although 'substantivated' participles, strictly speaking, do not belong to the construction types dealt with in this study I have included Hettrich's instances of this type. Cf. also [37].

[30] I have left out Hettrich's instance VII.40⁴: ὄπισθε δὲ αὖ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο (A)

The ἐλπίζων-clause owes its relevance to what comes next: it informs the reader about Artabanus' motive for yielding to Xerxes.[31]

[19] ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ *παρασκευαζόμενον* (B) συνήνεικε (A) αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον (...) ἀποθανεῖν. (VII.4)[32]

We have been told before (cf. VII.2[1]: στελλομένου Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον) that Darius was preparing both for the war against Egypt and for the invasion of Greece, and Herodotus now reminds us of it, so as to put Darius' death into the right perspective.

[20] (...) καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένεϊ (...). Ἀχαιμένεα μέν νυν *ἐπιτροπεύοντα* (B) Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε (A) Ἰνάρως (...). (VII.7)

(...) it was as a governor of Egypt that, afterwards, Achaemenes was murdered by Inarus.

As in [19] a durative action (ἐπιτροπεύοντα) is interrupted by a punctual action (ἐφόνευσε). ἐπιτροπεύοντα restates ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένεϊ from the perspective of Achaemenes, thus creating a frame of reference for what is to follow.

It is to be noted that, in [19] and [20], Herodotus is very explicit about the location in time of the action expressed by the main verb ([19]: μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ, [20]: χρόνῳ μετέπειτα).

Of course, in [19], an AS participle would have implied that Darius' preparations had come to an end before he died, but this seems to be just a consequence of the fact that παρασκευαζόμενον refers to a *durative* action: when the predicate of a clause that contains backgrounded information refers to a durative action, this action will *by definition* be going on at the moment the action referred to by the 'A-verb' occurs. So, if one makes the fact that a durative action *de facto* is not terminated, or 'completed', at the moment another action sets in, account for the choice of PS, one runs the risk of mistaking the egg for the chicken.

[21] ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημιουργοὶ

πεζῇ ἡνίοχος *ἐχόμενος* (B) τῶν χαλινῶν, because σχόμενος is not a viable alternative for ἐχόμενος.

[31] For the difference between ἐλπίσας and ἐλπίζων, see Section 2.6.

[32] This is yet another instance of what Strunk (1971) has termed 'Inzidenzschema': a (punctual) action interrupts (or occurs in the course of) a (durative) action.

μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι· ταύτην *ἰών* (B) ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρε (A) πλατάνιστον, (...). (VII.31)

As in [19] and [20], the participial phrase presents the frame of reference for the action espressed by the main verb: *this was the road Xerxes took, and is was hereabouts that he came across a plane-tree* (...) – the participial phrase serving to inform us about the location of the tree rather than about the moment in time Xerxes saw it.

[22] ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὑρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Χέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε (A), *ἐθέλων* (B) τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι. (VII.24[1])

As may be gathered from μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν, the function of the (postposed) phrase ἐθέλων *τε* (...) ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ (...) λιπέσθαι is to specify Xerxes' motivation for cutting the canal through Mount Athos: *it was mere ostentation that made Xerxes have the canal dug: he wanted to show his power so as to leave something to be remembered by.*[33]

It is to be noted that all participles discussed in this section refer to durative actions.

1.5. *'Ambiguous' instances?*

At his p. 30 f. Hettrich discusses some passages where, according to him, the context does not enable us to decide on the temporal relationship between the A- and the B-action ('wo die allgemeine Situation das zeitliche Verhältnis beider Handlungen offenläßt'). For Hettrich's argument, these instances are of some importance: if there actually are passages where the context leaves us in doubt about the precise temporal relationship between different actions, we will actually have to rely on the verb forms themselves. Now, apart from whether, in each and every case, this kind of information is necessary or even desirable, I would contend that, in the instances discussed by Hettrich, 1) there is no uncertainty whatsoever about the way the different actions relate to each other in time, and 2) the presence of PS or AS has nothing to do with time relationship.

[23] τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ *ἐπέπλεον* (B) οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον[34] (A) καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο[35] καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἵτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγένοντο[36] κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται. (VI.14[1])

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[33] For this characteristic way of using a postposed PS participle see Section 2.5.
[34] ἀντανήγαγον a. [35] ἐγένοντο DS. [36] ἐγίνοντο aP.

(Hettrich: 'Als die Phöniker jetzt heransegelten – nicht: 'herangesegelt waren' –, führten auch die Ionier selbst ihre Schiffe in einer Reihe gegen sie')

It seems clear that substituting AS for ἐπέπλεον would result in destroying the connection of the subclause with its main clause: by writing ἐπέπλεον Herodotus presents the coming forward of the Phoenician fleet as the frame of reference for the Ionians' (καὶ αὐτοί) reaction to it: *then the Phoenician fleet came forward, and so the Ionians sailed ahead to meet them.* As to time relationship, I can detect no ambiguity: it would have been sheer stupidity for the Ionians to wait until the Phoenicians had positioned themselves for battle. Apart from this, it is not without relevance to observe that ἐπέπλεον and ἀντανῆγον, together with ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον, are part a *series* of four predicates which, together, lead up to what Herodotus has to say about the actual fighting by the different contingents involved.

[24] παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο ἐπικυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε (B) ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο (A) ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη. (I.35[1-2])

(Hettrich: 'Nachdem Kroisos die Zeremonien beendet hatte – nicht: 'bei der Beendigung der Zeremonien' –, erkundigte er sich, woher jener komme und wer er sei')

Hettrich's quotation starts only at ἐπείτε δέ. The preceding context, however, is indispensable, and makes it clear that τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε recapitulates (and is co-referential with) ἐκάθηρε. Herodotus for a moment interrupts his story in order to explain that the ceremony performed by Croesus is much the same in Lydia as in Greece, whereafter, with ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε, he takes us back to what was the last step in the narrative. The temporal relationship between ἐποίησε and ἐπυνθάνετο is perfectly clear, if only because, for reasons of religion, Croesus cannot possibly have addressed his questions to Adrastus before the purification ceremony was over. The passage is comparable to instances such as [4] above, the only difference being that, in [24], Herodotus refers to one and the same action by different lexemes ('propositional overlap'), whereas in [4] only one lexeme is involved ('lexical overlap').

[25] ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε 'Ασωνίδης, καί τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε Πυθέω τοῦ 'Ισχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηῦς ἡλίσκετο (B) ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε (A) μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεοργήθη ἅπας. (VII.181[1])

(Hettrich: 'Als das Schiff erobert wurde – nicht: 'erobert worden war' – leistete dieser so lange kämpfend Widerstand, bis er ganz zerstückelt war')

Here, ἡλίσκετο refers to a punctual action. PS is appropriate: AS would have made the subclause into a separate narrative step and thereby would have implied that the ship already had been taken. The correct interpretation, therefore, seems to be: *when (he saw that)*[37] *his ship was about to be taken*,[38] *Pytheas kept resisting until he was cut to pieces.*

For the moment we may conclude that, in [23]–[25], there is no 'ambiguity' whatsoever, that would make AS or PS indispensable for determining how the actions described relate to one another in time: even if we would remove the PS and AS markers we still would be able to ascertain the chronology of events from the context. The considerations that have affected Herodotus' choice of AS or PS seem to be essentially the same as in the other passages quoted so far.

1.6. *Problematic instances?*

Among the instances which would require some modification of his 'rule' Hettrich distinguishes two major categories:

– instances with a negated verb, and

– instances where the semantic characteristics of the verbs involved are supposed to affect the choice of AS or PS.

1.6.1. *Instances with a negated verb*

1.6.1.1. *Negated PS verbs*

Regarding the instances with a negated verb Hettrich suggests that the negation 'bewirkt hier offenbar eine Ambiguität; der Sprecher oder Autor kann *nach freiem Ermessen* (my italics) eine negierte Handlung entweder als weiter andauernd, weil nicht abgeschlossen, oder als vorzeitig auffassen. Prinzipiell besteht also Wahlfreiheit zwischen PSt und ASt in negierten B-Gliedern. Es lässt sich jedoch eine starke Tendenz zur Bevorzugung des PSt, also zur Auffassung einer negierten Handlung als nicht abgeschlossen erkennen.'[39] This amounts to admitting that we have here a case of 'free variation': with negated verbs, the speaker would be at liberty to do as he likes – which, by

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[37] Cf. Section 3.3.1.

[38] For this way of using PS for a punctual action cf. Section 4.2.2.1.

[39] Hettrich, p. 51.

the way, would deprive the contrast PS vs. AS of any perceptible content whatsoever.

Hettrich's instances are the following:

[26] ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἄδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ φᾶσα Ἄδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστῆρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε[40] *οὐ παρεδίδου* (B), ἀπελθὼν (A) ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. (v.67²)

As the god did not allow this, Clisthenes went home and meditated on some means whereby Adrastus might leave of his own accord.

The ἐπεί-clause is a restatement of the content of the oracle from Clisthenes' point of view, enabling us to understand his subsequent attempt still to have his way. Substituting παρέδωκε for παρεδίδου would result in what amounts to two separate statements of fact, and thus destroy the connection between the lack of consent on the part of the god and Clisthenes' subsequent action. As to chronology: the god, of course, will continue refusing to allow Clisthenes to do as he likes, but this is irrelevant: the point is that Clisthenes' unsuccessful attempt to get the oracle on his side belongs to the past at the moment he leaves Delphi.[41]

[27] οὗτος ὠνὴρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε. ὡς δὲ *οὐκ ἔπειθε* (B)[42] τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάξας (A) ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι ἀπεκλήισε τῶν πυλέων. (v.104²)

Apart from the presence of ἐνθαῦτα, this instance is very much like [26]:[43] *when he failed to persuade Gorgus, Onesilus waited until he had gone out of town, and shut the gates on him.* The subclause tells the reader the outcome of πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε, at the same time preparing him for Onesilus' subsequent action.

[28] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ *οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό* (B) σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνταῦθα

[40] The presence of γε invites the reader to oppose τοῦτο to μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται: an instance of 'contrastive focus'.

[41] It is, by the way, also irrelevant to ask whether ἀπελθών is meant to imply that Clisthenes only started meditating after having left Delphi: it simply serves to inform the reader that Clisthenes left Delphi – and thereby to transfer the scene from Delphi back to Athens. ἀπερχόμενος would not have altered time relationship: it would suggest either that he was about to leave, or invite the reader to connect his leaving and his wanting to find another means for getting Adrastus out of the way.

[42] It is to be noted that, in Herodotus, there are no certain instances of AS οὐκ ἔπεισε, the only possible exception being VII.160¹: οὔ με ἔπεισας d: οὔ με πείσεις aP: οὔ μ' ἔπεισας Stob. flor. 20,45).

πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας[44] τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε (A) τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων· (IX.98[2])[45]

As they came near the Persian camp, and no enemy vessel was to be seen coming out to meet them – on the contrary, they saw that all the ships had been hauled ashore and that a strong infantry force was drawn up along the beach – well, in these circumstances, Leotychides coasted along, taking his ship as close-in-shore as he could, and proclaimed (...).

It seems misguided to seek to explain οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο by its temporal relationship to προηγόρευε: it is to be taken together with ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο (note τε ... καί): the latter brings Leotychides and his ships from one scene to the next, and οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο, together with ἀλλ' ὥρων ... τὸν αἰγιαλόν, describes the situation he finds there and which makes him address the Ionians who serve with the enemy. As in [27], ἐνταῦθα makes for clear chronology and syntax.

The remaining instances of a negated PS form quoted by Hettrich are participial clauses.

[29] Δαρείου δὲ *οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου* (B) κω γνώμην ἐτύγχανε (A) κατὰ τὠυτὸ τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, (...) οὗτος ὡνὴρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορήν, ἐλθών, ὥς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν κ.τ.λ. (VII.3[1-2])

It seems unlikely that Herodotus has written οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου because he wanted to make clear that Darius' not yet having declared his mind and Demaratus' presence in Susa coincide, if only because this would make κω and κατὰ τὠυτὸ τούτοισι superfluous. The use of PS *both* for ἀποδεικνυμένου and for ἐτύγχανε, is to be explained by their, *together*, setting the scene for Herodotus' story about Demaratus' supplying Xerxes with an argument for claiming the Persian throne.

[30] Ἀρτάβανος δὲ *οὐ* τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι *πειθόμενος* (B), οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο (A) εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· (VII.16[1])

Artabanus, who would not obey the first command, thinking it was not for him to sit on the royal throne, when, at last, he was compelled, did as he was bidden, saying: (...).

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[43] For the difference between ἐπεί and ὡς see Section 1.7.2.1.

[44] For this type of postposed participle cf. [72].

[45] Cf. III.76[2]: ἔν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στίχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο, and contrast: ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιτο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς *ἐφάνη*, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο, οὕτω καὶ Αἴσωπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, and IX.65[2]: θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς *ἐφάνη* τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον.

Οὐ πειθόμενος, together with οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος, sets the scene for Xerxes' finally (τέλος) compelling Artabanus to comply.[46] From a viewpoint of time relationship, Artabanus' refusal, of course, precedes ἠναγκάζετο.

It would seem, then, that, in [26]–[30], the presence of a negation as such has not affected the aspect choice:[47] there can be no question of PS having been chosen for the purpose of enabling the reader to determine the right temporal relationship in situations that, otherwise, would have been 'ambigouous'.[48]

1.6.1.2. *Negated aorist verbs*

> [31] Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα, δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὗρε (B) ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε (A) τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. (I.157[1-3])
>
> Having marched to Sardis with a detachment of Cyrus' troops, Mazares found Pactyes and his supporters gone, and, to begin with, compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' orders.

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[46] It is to be noted that, in the work of Herodotus, no forms of the aorist ἐπιθόμην are attested beyond doubt: asking ourselves what made Herodotus prefer PS, therefore, may be pointless. Cf. Sicking 1991, 19, note 26.

[47] The above is not to deny that the presence or absence of a negation is without any importance for our subject. Although it seems preposterous to maintain that a negation may turn an action which, otherwise, would have been anterior to another action, into one that is simultaneous with it, adding a negation may well turn a punctual action into a durative one. When we compare **for several hours he did show up* with *for several hours he didn't show up*, we find that the former is unacceptable because the punctual action 'to show up' cannot last longer than just the moment it occurs, whereas 'not showing up' very well can last for some time. For our understanding of the above instances this implies that we may paraphrase what Herodotus is saying in [27] by something like: *despite Onesilus' urging him to throw off the Persian yoke, Gorgus kept refusing to comply. So Onesilus waited until he went out of town and shut the gates on him.* This, however, is certainly not to say that, in this passage, Herodotus' choice of PS was inspired by his wish to make it clear that the action involved did continue for some time. If the rendering just given is adequate, this is a matter of interpreting the consequences of the (durative) actio (the term intends to refer to what, in German, is called 'Aktionsart', for which no English equivalent seems to have become generally accepted) of the situation referred to: it has nothing to do with the value of AS or PS.

[48] Hettrich p. 48-9: 'Sie zeigt offenbar an daß der B-Vorgang (in v.67[2] das παραδιδόναι, in v.104[2] das πείθειν usw.) noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, d.h. noch nicht verwirklicht sein kann, wenn der A-Vorgang einsetzt; es besteht ein Zustand des '(Noch-) Nicht-Gewährt-Habens', des '(Noch-) Nicht-Überzeugt-Habens' usw. Dieser wird als fortdauernd, als gleichzeitig zur A-Handlung aufgefaßt und *fordert* deshalb den PSt.' (my italics).

Οὐκ εὗρε is part of a series of successive events. It restates what we know from the preceding sentence (οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην), thus serving as a 'coherence bridge' between Pactyes' absence and what we are about to be told about Mazares. Writing οὐκ εὕρισκε would surely not suggest that Mazares' finding Pactyes gone and ἠνάγκασε are to be seen as 'simultaneous': it would present ἠνάγκασε as Mazares' reaction to Pactyes' no longer being there, which it is not: for the continuation of Herodotus' story about Pactyes we have to wait until Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο (taking up πρῶτα μέν) κ.τ.λ.

[32] Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον, ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυτόν. καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ, Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος *οὐκ ἐσήκουσε* (B), συλλέξασα (A) πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. (I.213–214[1])

This passage is comparable to [31]. At I.212[3], Tomyris has advised Cyrus to give back her son and to get out of her country, and sworn to give him, if he would refuse to do so, more blood than he can drink. After οὐδένα (...) ἐποιέετο λόγον, Herodotus interrupts the story about the confrontation of Cyrus and Tomyris for reporting the suicide of Spargapises. ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε brings the reader back to the main line of the story: *Tomyris, on her part, on hearing that Cyrus ignored her terms, brought together all the forces she possessed and engaged with Cyrus.* If Herodotus would have written ἐσήκουε, this would have been without consequences for the time relationship with συλλέξασα: it would have indicated that the reader is to view Tomyris' decision to fight the Persians as her reaction to Cyrus' turning a deaf ear to her threat (cf., for instance, [26] above). For Tomyris' reaction to this, however, we have to wait until the decisive battle is over. For the moment, συλλέξασα just presents the next step in the narrative that will lead up to the gruesome fulfilment of Tomyris' threat (214[3-4]).

[33] τῶν ἀμφοτέρων *λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος* (B) τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο (A). (VII.58[1])

Here, λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος restates part of VII.57 (τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο), and, reporting Xerxes' neglect of yet another portent, at the same time concludes the paragraph: *Xerxes paid no attention to these omens and continued his march.*

1.6.1.3. *'Assimilation'?*

In order to explain the distribution of AS and PS in the case of negated verb-forms Hettrich[49] suggests that, apart from the presence of a negation, a (weak) tendency to assimilate the B-verb to the verb-form found in the main sentence may have been at work: 'Weiterhin besteht eine andere Tendenz, den PSt- oder ASt-Gebrauch in negierten B-Gliedern dem entsprechenden TSt des übergeordneten Verbs (das nicht immer mit dem A-Glied identisch ist) anzugleichen. Diese Tendenz ist jedoch schwächer ausgeprägt als die erstgenannte und wird von dieser überlagert.' As an illustration of this he quotes:

> [34] ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις, συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ *οὐ προεχώρεε* (B), ἐλάσας (A) ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα *ἐποιέετο* ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, (...). ἔχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· (1.205$^{1-2}$)
>
> When he (saw that he) failed to achieve his object by cunning, Cyrus advanced to the Araxes and made an open attack upon the Massagetes.

The passage is similar to, for instance, [26].[50] It differs from [32] (ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε) in that ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε, not just restates the situation at hand as a starting point for reporting the next event, but also provides Cyrus' reason for resorting to overt force so as to get his way.[51] As to the main verb ἐποιέετο: if Herodotus had written ἐποιήσατο, the sentence would have concluded the paragraph.

1.6.2. *'Ambiguous' verbs?*

Apart from the instances where a negation is involved, there are, according to Hettrich no less than 170 instances where we find PS although the verb form in question seems to refer to an action which is completed at the moment the A-action sets in ('trotz Vorzeitigkeit'). He seeks to explain these cases by supposing that the semantic characteristics ('besondere Semantik') of the verbal lexemes have affected the choice of AS or PS, taking it that the lexemes in question, are 'ambiguous', since they denote, not only the occurrence of the action itself but also its continued effect ('nicht nur eine zeitlich eng begrenzte Handlung bezeichnen, sondern auch deren Fortwirkung').[52]

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[49] P. 51.

[50] For the difference between ὡς and ἐπεί see Section 1.7.2.1.

[51] Cf. Section 3.3.1.

[52] Hettrich 63.

Hettrich distinguishes two categories:

– 'Verba dicendi im weiteren Sinne'.[53] To this category he reckons those verbs which have been described by Blass as denoting actions which are aimed at making another person act in a certain way, and therefore can only be said to be 'completed' at the moment this other person has taken the course of action proposed to him ('Verben, die ihr Ziel und ihre Vollendung in dem Thun eines Andern haben'): ἀγγέλλω, αἰτέω, αἰτιάομαι, ἀπαγορεύω, δέομαι, εἰρωτάω, ἐπισκήπτω, ἐπιτάσσω, καλέω, κελεύω, λέγω, πείθω, πέμπω, προσημαίνω, συγχωρέω, συμβουλεύω, ὑποτείνω, φράζω, χρέω, χρηστηριάζομαι, ψεύδομαι.

– A number of further verbs which, when PS is used, refer both to the occurrence of an action and to the state that goes with it, or results from it ('Verben mit Zustandsbedeutung neben der Vorgangsbedeutung im PSt').[54] The items on Hettrich's rather diverse list are the following: γίνομαι, μίσγω, εἰμι, ἵζομαι, πυνθάνομαι, νικάω, καταλαμβάνω, ἑσσοῦμαι, δέκομαι, αἱρέω, ἥκω, εὑρίσκω, οἴχομαι.

1.6.2.1. *'Verba dicendi'*

[35] οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καί σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε. στρατεύονται (A) δέ, ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος *κελεύῃ* (B) διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν *κελεύῃ*, ἐκεῖσε. (II.29[7])

The (postposed)[55] subclause tells us that the Ethiopians only make war when the god orders (has ordered) them to do so. There can be no question of κελεύῃ indicating that the god's order creates a situation which will continue *until* the Ethiopians have done as they have been ordered ('den Akt des Sagens unter Einschluß des fortwirkenden Zustandes, der durch diesen Akt hervorgerufen wird, bis zur Reaktion des Angesprochenen').

Regarding κελεύῃ being PS it may be relevant to observe that focus-function is to be assigned to (ἐπεάν) ὁ θεὸς οὗτος (...) διὰ θεσπισμάτων, and to τῇ, rather than to κελεύῃ itself – the point being that, with the Ethiopians, it is not a commander or a king, but a god, who orders them to go to war.[56]

[36] ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας

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[53] Cf. the doxography in Hettrich 59 ff., especially Svenson 1939.

[54] Hettrich 63 ff.

[55] For a discussion of postposed clauses see Section 2.1-3.

[56] Regarding the consequences for the aspect choice of a constituent having focus function cf. Section 4 and 5, and Sicking 1991, 27 ff.

ἀπικόμενας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι *κελεύσαντος* (B) Ξέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν (A), (...) ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. (VII.59²)

As to the ships: when these had arrived at Doriscus, the naval captains, on Xerxes' command, moved them all to the adjoining beach.

Unlike ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ in [35], κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω is placed *before* the main verb. Xerxes' organizing and numbering his forces being the subject matter of this and the next paragraph, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω secures topic continuity and thematic coherence, making clear that, although οἱ ναύαρχοι (...) ἐκόμισαν introduces a new subject, it is meant to be still under the 'scope' of ἐποίεε ταῦτα (ὁ Ξέρξης). Κελεύοντος would not have altered the chronology, but would have drawn the audience's attention to what, in itself, is only natural: Xerxes' order being what made the captains move their ships to the adjoining beach.

[37] οἱ μέν νυν σύμμαχοι [οἱ][57] *ἀποπεμπόμενοι* (B) οἴχοντό (A) τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι (κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος), Θεσπιέες δὲ ἑκόντες μάλιστα (...). (VII.222)

In VII.220¹–221 Herodotus has expressed his belief that, at Thermopylae, the confederate troops, who by many Greeks were suspected of desertion, went off because they were ordered to do so by Leonidas (ἀπέπεμψε, κελεῦσαι, ἀποπέμψαι).[58] *Thus the confederate troops, being dismissed by Leonidas went away and obeyed Leonidas; only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans.* It seems clear that the dismissal of the troops by Leonidas precedes both οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες and κατέμειναν. Ἀποπεμφθέντες would have promoted the participle to the status of an independent piece of information, and thereby have implied that Leonidas' order[59] was followed by *all* confederates – *quod non.* One may compare the last sentence of VII.221: ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἐόντα οἱ μουνο-

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[57] 'alt. οἱ om. a Plut.' (Hude ad loc.): compare ἀποπεμπόμενος in VII.221 (quoted immediately hereafter).

[58] In VII.221: φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι, Λεωνίδης is the constituent that has focus function.

[59] In 220², Herodotus by means of AS (κελεῦσαι) refers to Leonidas' ordering the allies to go their ways. The passage differs from [38] in that, in 220, the point is whether there actually *was* such an order – a question answered by Herodotus in 220⁴: ἀποπέμψαι ... μᾶλλον ἢ οὕτως ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι. Regarding *verba iubendi* cf. Sicking 1991, 25.

γενέα, ἀπέπεμψε: here too, ἀποπεμφθείς would have implied that Megistias did as he was bidden.

[38] ἐκέλευσέ σφεας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πληρέες, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας. (...) οἱ μέν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ *ἀποπεμφθέντες* (B) ἐνόστησαν (A) ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, (...). (VII.146[3]–148[1])

After ἐκέλευσέ σφεας (...) ἀσινέας, Herodotus has made Xerxes explain the purpose of his order, and has informed the reader about a similar event having occurred at another occasion. The sole purpose of θεησάμενοι and ἀποπεμφθέντες is that, together – by taking up ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πληρέες, ἀποπέμπειν – they take the audience back to the story about the spies, which is concluded by Herodotus' answer to the only question that still waits for an answer: the Greek spies decided to return to Europe.

1.6.2.2. *Special cases?*[60]

In some cases, according to Hettrich, Herodotus' choice of AS or PS may be due to special semantic characteristics of the verbs involved.

[39] ἐπείτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδιδοῖ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε· παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε, ὡς δὲ *ἐγίνετο*[61] (B) ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας (A) κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. (IV.154[3-4])

Themison was very angry at the way he had been caught, broke off his friendship with Etearchus and did the following: he took the girl with him and sailed away, and when he had got in open sea, in order to clear himself of the obligation under which his oath had laid him, he tied her to a rope, let her down into the sea, drew her up again, and sailed with her to Thera.

[40] ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκὰς *ἐγένετο* (B) περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῖδα πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει (A) ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. (III.41[2])[62]

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[60] From the instances quoted by Hettrich I have left out the instances where different compounds of one verb are involved (I.127[3]: συνέμισγον, VI.96: προσέμειξαν; VII.8C[1]: ἀνεύρισκε, I.107[2]: εὕρισκε, VII.215: ἐξευρόντες) and the instances where PS and AS are derived from different stems (II.41[4]: προσίῃ, IV.113[3]: ἀπῆλθε), since we cannot a priori exclude the possibility that these differences as such did affect Herodotus' choice of one form or the other.

[61] ἐγένετο SmAld (Rosén).

[62] As an instance of ἐγένετο Hettrich quotes I.113[2] (ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ

> When the vessel was a long way off-shore, he took the ring from his finger, and, in full view of everyone on board, threw it into the water.

Both subclauses serve the purpose of moving the narrative to the location of a crucial event, and, in both cases, the *dramatis persona*'s arriving at the scene precedes his further actions. Herodotus' choice of PS and AS appears to be bound up with the fact that, in [39] and [40], the significance of the *dramatis persona*'s 'getting in open sea' is clearly not the same. [39] is a characteristic instance of Herodotus' expert way of 'timing' a story – slowing down its pace just before reaching its conclusion, and then almost casually giving away (ἀνασπάσας δέ) its final point: Themison having sworn that he will καταποντῶσαι Etearchus' daughter, the reader is eager to know whether he will find a way to acquit himself of his obligation without at the same time killing the girl: ἀπέπλεε, ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ and ἀποσιεύμενος, together, apart from substituting one place of action for another and moving the story forward in time, lead up to the startling dénouement.

In [40], there is no 'suspense', since the reader already knows about Polycrates' intentions. ὡς (...) ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκὰς ἐγένετο presents the follow-up to ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, and is just one of two steps which move the story forward on its way to the crucial action – ἑκάς, of course, preparing for the surprise that is to come later on: Polycrates' attempt to get once and for all rid of the ring by throwing it away at a sizeable distance from the coast will turn out to be of no avail.

In order to illustrate the difference between ἐγίνετο and ἐγένετο in subclauses, I discuss one further, rather complex instance, not quoted by Hettrich:

> [41] ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα *ἐγίνετο* ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι εἰσί, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, (...)
>
> [41a] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν *ἐπειρᾶτο* ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων (...) ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. (...)
>
> [41b] ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν *ἐτείσατο* Κῦρος (...) *καὶ* τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ *ὑπέλαμπε*, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν.

ἐκχειμένῳ *ἐγένετο*, ἤιε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος), which may be considered a rather straightforward case of moving the narrative one step forward in time. My instance [40] is both slightly more complicated and occurs in a context which is similar to that of [39].

[41c] ἐπεὶ δὲ *ἐγένετο* ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, *συνέβαλόν* τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. (1.189¹–190¹)

In [41], ἐγένετο would have presented Cyrus' arriving at the river Gyndes as as a piece of information the reader is told for its own sake, which it is not: it is meant to present the location of Cyrus' punishing the river for having dared to carry away one of his horses.

After having provided some geographical details about the river, with ὡς ... ἐπειρᾶτο [41a], Herodotus returns to the Cyrus-story, at the same time creating the frame of reference for what he is about to report: *it was when he undertook crossing this river that* (...).

In [41b] this 'intercalated' story is concluded by a recapitulation in AS (ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτείσατο), whereafter, with καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, Herodotus both resumes his report of Cyrus' expedition, and locates in time what is to follow. Two main clauses in PS (οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε, οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ... ἔμενον αὐτόν) bring Cyrus to his destination and confront him with the Babylonians; then, in [41c], ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, συνέβαλον, ἑσσωθέντες and κατειλήθησαν, in four swift steps, move the narrative forward to its next stage: the siege of Babylon. The relevant difference between ἐγίνετο [41] and ἐγένετο [41c] appears to be that the former is meant to be the starting point of an inserted anecdote, whereas the latter is the first independent – albeit minor – step in Herodotus' report of the war between the Persians and the Babylonians.

[42] ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἁλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὡς *ἐπυνθάνοντο*[63] (B) δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν (A) οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων· οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες; (v.79¹⁻²)

ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι restates ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον from the perspective of the Thebans, repeating the enigmatic formula they will have to interpret in order to discover what the oracle advises them to do: it is on hearing these words (ἀκούσαντες τούτων) that they ask themselves whether they are supposed to appeal to their neighbours.[64]

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[63] Since ἁλίην ποιησάμενοι implies the presence of the Thebans there is no need for an explicit topic switch (*οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο...).

[64] According to Hettrich's criteria, [42] is remarkable: ἀκούσαντες and ἐπυνθάνοντο referring to the same action, we would have to suppose that, at the moment the 'A-action' occurs, one and the same action is both completed and not completed. According to Ruijgh's assumptions, ἐπυνθάνοντο would convey that there is no time

[43] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι (...) λαθόντες (...) τοὺς Παιόνας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν, ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷα δὲ κεινῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παιόνες ὡς *ἐπύθοντο* (B) ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες (A) κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. (V.15^{3})[65]

The Paeonians, on the other hand, on learning that their towns were in enemy hands, immediately dispersed, went off on their own and surrendered to the Persians.

ὡς ἐπύθοντο (...) τὰς πόλιας does not restate κατέσχον; it returns to the Paeonians as a narrative topic, and informs the audience that they heard about there cities being taken by the enemy.

[44] Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, |καὶ| ὡς *καταλαμβάνοντο* (B) ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι (A) χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. (IX.119^{2})

Κατελάμφθησαν would have implied that the men actually had been caught up with.[66] Hettrich's rendering ('als sie kurz hinter Aigospotamoi eingeholt worden waren') is, therefore, misleading: one better translates something like: *when they were about to be caught up with*, so as to make it clear that, by using PS, Herodotus is leading up to the following.

[45] (...) Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἤν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας αὐτοὺς *κατέλαβον* (B) καὶ ἤγαγον (A) ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευσέ σφεας (...). (VII.146$^{2-3}$)

They found them still alive and brought them to the king, who, having satisfied himself about the reason for their presence, instructed them (...).

It seems unnatural to account for κατέλαβον by relating it only to ἤγαγον: κατέλαβον, ἤγαγον, πυθόμενος and ἐκέλευσε are four separate narrative steps, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν marking the switch from the guards, who can be seen as a 'subtopic', to Xerxes, who is the topic of the paragraph.

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gap between the Thebans' learning the content of the oracle and their reacting to it. But then, ἀκούσαντες would seem to be rather superfluous.

65 αὐτίκα indicates that there is no time-gap between the B-action and the A-action: according to Ruijgh's hypothesis one would have expected PS.

66 Cf. IX.58^{4}: διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.

[46] πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος *κατελάμβανε* (B) τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὄπισθε στὰς (A) περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ οὔ κως ἀεκούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς ἐδείκνυε. (II.162[1])

Apries sent Amasis in order to stop the rebels. While Amasis was doing his best to restrain them, a man positioned himself behind him and put a helmet on his head.

Κατελάμβανε refers to a terminative action (Powell: 'restrain, coax'), that is interrupted before Amasis has succeeded in persuading the Egyptians to return to their duty. AS would have implied that he actually succeeded in doing so. That PS as such does not suffice to indicate that Amasis' action was going on at the moment the anonymous Egyptian appeared can be gathered from the presence of λέγοντος αὐτοῦ.[67]

[47] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ *ἐνίκων* (B) τοὺς Ἴωνας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες (A) ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης [καὶ] ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες αἱρέουσι (...). (VI.18)

In order to explain this passage we have to go back as far as VI.6, where Miletus has been reported to be in expectation of a combined attack by land and by sea. In the meantime the Ionians have decided to leave its defence to the Milesians themselves, and to hinder the Persians by fighting a naval battle. On seeing the size of the Ionian fleet the Persian commanders have refrained from attacking Miletus, considering that, having no command of the sea, they might fail to take it (9[1]). In 9[2]–13 Herodotus has reported about a Persian attempt to break up the Ionian confederacy, about Dionysius' unsuccessful attempt to train the Ionian fleet to discipline and about the Samians having stopped participating in an enterprise they considered to be doomed to failure. Chapters 14–7 contain a report of the naval battle and the less than heroic behaviour of several Ionian contingents.

Only at the beginning of chapter 18 Herodotus brings the reader back to Miletus. ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων, apart from explicitly informing the reader (from the victor's point of view) that the Persians have won the naval battle, serves the purpose of introducing πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης: now that the Ionian fleet has been defeated, the Persians are in a position to do what, earlier on, they didn't dare, and to attack the town both by land and *by sea*.

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[67] For the difference between κατελάμβανε and κατέλαβε, see Section 4.2.2.1. For further discussion of this passage see Section 3.3.1.

[48] ἀλλ' ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ *νικήσαντες* (B) ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι (A) ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δή, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. (VII.10B[2])

Suppose the Greeks fell upon our fleet and defeated it, and, having sailed to the Hellespont, destroyed the bridge.

The AS forms ἐμβάλωσι, νικήσαντες and λύσωσι present the crucial stages of the scenario Artabanus is presenting to Xerxes. πλέωσι is to be read in conjunction with λύσωσι: it just serves to set the scene for the what would be the final blow, whereas πλεύσωσι would have presented the sailing as something that is important in its own right. From a viewpoint of time relationship, καὶ ἔπειτα is a clear indication that both the Greek victory and the sailing to the Hellespont are supposed to be 'completed' at the moment the Greeks would be ready to destroy the bridge.[68]

[49] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν, Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε *ἐγίνετο*[69] καὶ ὡς *ἑσσοῦτο* (B) τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι (A) πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· (VII.166)

When the armies met and he was about to taste defeat, he vanished out of sight.

The first ὡς-clause marks the return from the information about Hamilcar's personal particulars to the battle of the Syracusans and the Carchedonians, the second clause substitutes the perspective of the defeated for that of the victors; together, they provide the frame of reference for the information about Hamilcar that is to follow.

[50] γνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὡς δὲ *ἑσσώθη* (B) τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσῃσι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε (A) ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε· (III.83[1])

ὡς δὲ ἑσσώθη, by restating what we have been told in the preceding sentence, helps to realize a clear topic switch to Otanes, who is one of those who have been defeated. By writing ὡς ἑσσοῦτο, Herodotus

[68] If my understanding of Ruijgh's theory is correct, he probably would suggest that, the Greeks, after having sailed to the Hellespont, must be supposed to start destroying the bridge *immediately*. But ἔπειτα seems to exclude this way of reading the passage.

[69] ἐγένετο SV.

would have implied either that Otanes was about to be defeated,[70] or that his being defeated was his motive for his speech.

[51] Ἱστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἱρεόμενοι. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι (...) οὗτοι ὦν ἐπείτε τὴν Ἱστιαίου *αἱρέοντο* (B) γνώμην, ἔδοξέ (A) σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι· (IV.137³–139¹)

Now that they had accepted Histiaeus' view, the Ionians decided to make it good by act and word.

After having reported in IV.137³ that the Ionians inclined to Histiaeus' view, Herodotus has devoted chapter 138 to a catalogue of those who sided with Histiaeus. Οὗτοι ὦν ἐπείτε, apart from marking the return to the narrative, provides the frame of reference for stating the consequences of the Ionians' having decided to follow Histiaeus' advice.

[52] ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας *εἷλε* (B) πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν (A) ἐς λίμνην (...) (VIII.127)

The ἐπεί-clause takes the reader back from the information about the Bottiaeans to the narrative, at the same time moving it one step forward to its gruesome conclusion.

[53] οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον *ἐδέξαντο* (B) προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο (A), ἐθάρσησαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον. (IX.25¹)

The story of the battle has been interrupted by Herodotus' report of the way Masistius was posthumously honoured by the Persians. There is a topic switch, and the subclause takes the reader back to the moment the Greeks successfully withstood the Persian horsemen (IX.23²).

1.7. *Summary*

1.7.1. *Hettrich's 'Rule' Reconsidered*

In the instances discussed so far, the presence or absence of AS and PS forms does not seem to relate in any systematic way to whether an action is or is not going on at a reference point in the context, or a 'moment donné'. The passages quoted do not substantiate the view

[70] Contrast VIII.75¹: ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς *ἑσσοῦτο* τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, (*when he saw that the Peloponnesians were about to carry the day*) λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται. Cf. Section 3.3.1.

that characterizing (or 'coding') the time relationship between the actions involved is the one and only decisive criterium for AS or PS having been chosen.[71] Hettrich's 'regular' instances do little more than illustrate the observation that, in the world that is being described, situations referred to by subordinate clauses in PS often show time overlap with (or are interrupted by) the event referred to by the main verb. This is just what one expects, since

1. PS is crucially associated with the presentation of introductory, backgrounded or otherwise subsidiary material, and,

2. backgrounded clauses more often than not refer to durative situations, which, *by definition*, will be going on at the moment the event referred to by the main verb occurs.

Especially in those cases, however, where a subordinate clause refers to a *punctual* situation, Hettrich has to resort to special assumptions, for which, however, there is no evidence.[72] It is perfectly clear that, in [26], the refusal of the god, and, in [27], Gorgus' failing to comply, precede the next event in the sequence, and translating 'when the god *kept refusing*' (c.q. 'when Gorgus *kept failing* to comply'), or something of the sort, amounts to special pleading. Conversely, in [36], writing κελεύοντος instead of κελεύσαντος would have consequences for the discourse function of the participle, but would not result in – to borrow Comrie's terminology – changing the 'internal temporal constituency' of the situation referred to: we would translate both AS and PS by *at Xerxes' command.* Likewise, in [39] and [40], merely translating ἐγίνετο and ἐγένετο in a different way is no proof of a different temporal relationship between the actions involved. In [42], the presence of ἀκούσαντες even excludes this possibility.

As far as time reference is concerned, events referred to by *preposed*

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[71] So I do not subscribe to Rijksbaron (1979, 249): 'Hettrich's assumption, following Ruijgh (1971), that the use of the present stem and the aorist stem in temporal clauses and participles can be explained in terms of simultaneity and anteriority, respectively, is highly convincing.'

[72] Cf. Rijksbaron 1979, 245: '(...) for a number of verbs, having a punctual or terminative lexical semantic aspect it *often* is *difficult*, when they are used in subordinate temporal clauses, to view them as expressing *simple* simultaneity. (...) In my opinion we have to reckon, in these cases, with freedom of choice between the aorist and the present stem.' (my italics). Stating, however, that, for an unspecified group of verbs, in a number of cases ('often'), the speaker is free to do as he likes, amounts to admitting the lack of explanatory power of the theory – if, that is, it is impossible to indicate what communicative purpose may have inspired the speaker's preference. Why should one accept that 'simultaneity' is the sole criterium for using PS, if, at the same time, one is asked to make an exception for 'a number of verbs' that refer to actions that will not fit the theory because they cannot be said to be 'simultaneous' with other actions?

subordinate clauses in AS *ceteris paribus* are temporally sequenced in the sense that they advance the previously established reference time, the succession of their being mentioned in the text reflecting the order of their occurrence in the world referred to. 'The natural order of coding, in narrative, a sequence of events that are thematically coherent as sub-parts of a single episode, is by presenting the events – each coded by a clause – in the time-sequence in which they originally occurred.'[73]

1.7.2. *Subclauses*

Among the instances of subclauses discussed so far three main groups may be distinguished:

A. Instances where, from a viewpoint of content, the subclause refers back to something already told earlier on, or implied by what has been said.

In the majority of those cases where an Imperfect has been used, the subordinate clause, by restating or recapitulating some state of affairs from the viewpoint of the character who is about to act or to speak, prepares the reader for what the *dramatis persona* (= the topic of the main clause) is about to do or to say:[74] [8] (ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα), [34] (Κῦρος δέ, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε), [47] (οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμχίῃ ἐνίκων), [26] (ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου), [42] (ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι). In [49], the subclause (τὸν δὲ 'Αμίλχαν ... ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ) sets the scene for Hamilcar's mysterious disappearance.

The subclauses with an Aorist form in this category characteristically lack this kind of connection with the following context. The clauses (most of them introduced by ὡς) serve narrative purposes of a rather 'technical' or 'formal' nature:

– providing a starting point for resuming the main story after a γάρ-clause [5] (ὡς ἀπήλασε), or after an embedded story [32] (ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε);

– concluding an embedded story [41b] (ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτείσατο);

– indicating a topic switch and/or marking a 'boundary' between two thematic paragraphs: [31] (Μαζάρης δὲ ... ὡς οὐκ εὗρε), [43] (οἱ δὲ Παιόνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο), [53] (οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐδέξαντο), [50] (ὡς δὲ ἑσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ 'Οτάνης). In [2], ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες ... ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς 'Αμαζόνας, also serves the purpose of drawing the

[73] Givón 282.

[74] Cf. Section 3.3.1.

reader's attention to the crucial importance of the young men's having thus complied with the Amazon's request.

– providing a cross-reference as a basis for explaining a *dramatis persona*'s acting in a certain way: [6] (ἐπείτε ... παρέλαβε ἀληθείην).

B. Instances where the subclause provides the reader with new information. The AS instances in this category

– move the story from one location to another or/and from one moment in time to another – as in [3] (ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε) and [40] (ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκὰς ἐγένετο), and/or, in some cases,

– provide information that, as such, is crucial to the story – as in [1] (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες), [52] (ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας εἷλε), and [45] (ὡς δὲ ἔτι περιέοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον).[75]

The clauses with PS, typically,

– prepare the audience for what a *dramatis persona* is about to do, to say or to experience,[76] as in [7] (οἱ δέ, ἐπείτε οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο), [9] (οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὡς ἐβάλλοντο), and [27] (ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον), and/or

– set the scene for events that are about to take place, as in [25] (ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηῦς ἡλίσκετο), [28] (ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι), [39] (ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ), [41a] (τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος), [44] (ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο) and [46] (ἐπείτε κατελάμβανε).

In [41], ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ introduces an embedded story; in [10], ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο provides background information.

C. In some cases of PS, considerations of reference come into play. In [25] (ἡλίσκετο: *was about to be taken*), [46] (καταλάμβανε: *did his best to restrain*), and [44] (κατελαμβάνοντο: *were about to be caught*), substitution of AS for PS – apart from its consequences for the *presentation* of the story – would imply also that the actions referred to actually did reach their goal, which, clearly, is not what Herodotus intends to say.[77] In [11], *ὡς παρεξῆλθε instead of ὡς παρεξήιε would have concluded the report of the woman's action instead of making it the frame of reference for the king's reaction. From a viewpoint of discourse structure, in all these four instances, the subclause sets the scene for what is to come.

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[75] On καταινέσαντος τοῦ παιδός at III.53[7] see also Section 5.1.4.
[76] Cf. Section 3.3.1.
[77] Cf. Section 4.2.2.1.

1.7.2.1. *Some observations on the semantics of ἐπεί(τε), ἐπειδή and ὡς*

Although I do not intend to go into the matter in detail, it seems unavoidable to give at least some attention to the semantic differences between ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἐπείτε and ὡς. In Powell's Lexicon ἐπεί, ἐπειδή and ἐπείτε are treated as if they were, more or less, equivalent (ἐπεί: 'temporal: *after*, *when*, *since*, causal: *seeing that*'; ἐπείτε: 'temporal: *when*, *after*; causal: *since*, *seeing that*'; ἐπειδή: 'temporal: *after*, *when*, causal: *seeing that*'), his description of ὡς differs from the other three only in that its 'causal' use is paraphrased as 'time passing into causality', no translation being given.

A closer look at the above instances, however, leaves one with the impression that, limiting oneself to *Herodotus*' use of the conjunctions, one may, perhaps, make the following observations:

– As far as chronology is concerned, there seems to be no difference between ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἐπείτε and ὡς: when we have a preposed subclause, the situations involved will succeed one another in time in the same order as they occur in the text, and any further information on their temporal relationship is to be gathered from the context – translating 'after' or 'when' being a matter of interpretation rather than being bound up in a *systematic* way with the conjunctions themselves or with AS or PS having been chosen for the verb form.

– From a viewpoint of content, ὡς is, so to speak, neutral – just serving as a 'peg' for subordinating the subclause to the main clause. It will normally indicate that, apart from the situations in question occurring (or, where a durative situation is referred to, starting) in time in the order in which they succeed one another in the text, no further material relationship is at issue.[78] In, for instance, [39], [40] or [41], ἐπεί would have been misplaced. ἐπεί(τε)[79] and ἐπειδή, on the other hand, present the situation of the subclause as having, *in the world referred to*, some relevant material relationship to the situation described by the main clause: ὡς ἄν instead of ἐπεάν in [35] would, therefore, have been rather odd.

It appears that ἐπεί(τε) and ἐπειδή, as such, draw the reader's attention to the way the factual content of the subclause relates to the content of the main clause – *without, however, further specifying the nature*

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[78] This seems to tally with the observation that *preposed* ὡς-clauses are much more numerous than postposed ones – postposed clauses typically being used for presenting explanatory material (see Section 2.3).

[79] I have not been able to trace any tangible *semantic* difference between ἐπεί and ἐπείτε. One suspects that, if there is any difference between the two, it would have to do with the way the clauses involved are to be connected with other units in the surrounding context.

of the relationship between the two. The conjunctions just convey that our understanding of the main-clause in one way or another will be enhanced by our appreciating the way its content relates to the facts referred to by the sub-clause.

So in [1], for instance, the fact that the young men came back safe, all six of them, besides being part of the narrative sequence, affects our appreciation of the conduct of their father. Translating *when they returned* (or: *had returned*) because – having decided that it has to be either *post hoc* or *propter hoc* – we find that a 'causal' interpretation is uncalled for, would be to disregard Herodotus' intentions: by writing ἐπεί, he explicitly signals that the safe return of the six young men in a significant way relates to their father deciding to kill them: one may even consider to bring this out by translating 'despite the fact that ...'[80] A comparable instance is [52]: there also, translating ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας εἷλε by 'having taken' or 'when he had taken' would be to disregard the presence of ἐπεί, whereas 'because he had taken' would be misplaced. ἐπεί invites the reader to notice the significance of a commander seeing in the conquest of a city an occasion to murder its inhabitants.

To take a few further random examples:

– in [8], the unfriendly character of Syagrus' speech significantly relates to Gelon's reaction; translating 'since', however, would be over-explicit.

– in [10], the ἐπείτε-clause makes the reader understand what made the statue fall from its base: *this lion – and in order to understand the following you must know about a fire having broken out in the temple at Delphi – has fallen from its base*;

– in [23] it is important to bear in mind that the Ionians so far have been far from willing to engage in a naval combat: in view, however, of the fact that the Phoenicians are approaching they cannot but decide to meet them.

– in [25], the fact that the ship is about to be taken is obviously not without its consequences for our evaluation of Pytheas' conduct; translating 'since', however, would be misplaced: it would imply that the circumstances *account for* his continuing to resist rather than enhance the admirability of it. As in [1], one could consider translating 'despite the fact that ...'

– in [26] and [27], there is a clear difference between ἐπεί and ὡς, since, in [26], there is an obvious relation between Clisthenes' not

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[80] Cf. the discussion about the existence or non-existence of a so-called 'concessive' ἐπεί.

being allowed by the god to expel Adrastus and his meditating on a means whereby the man may leave of his own accord. In [27], on the other hand, there seems to be no such relation between Onesilus' first failing to persuade Gorgus to revolt from Darius and then (ἐνθαῦτα) waiting for an opportunity to shut the gates on him.

– in [41], ἐπείτε conveys that there will be something more to Cyrus' arriving at the river than that it is just another stage in his expedition. It is significant that, when the story about his punishing the river has been told, Herodotus resumes the report of Cyrus' march against Babylon by ὡς ἐτείσατο.

The English system of conjunctions being as it is, it is, admittedly, almost impossible to render the surplus-value of ἐπεί over ὡς without paraphrasing its contribution and thereby laying it on more thickly than Herodotus did. That is, however, no reason at all for reducing the possibilities of ἐπεί to the choice between the devil 'temporal' and the deep blue sea 'causal'.

As to ἐπειδή, I would submit that the presence of δή adds to the value of ἐπεί a nuance of indicating a common ground between the speaker and his audience:[81] in all instances of ἐπειδή that have been quoted so far, the ἐπειδή-clause refers to something the audience either knows or can easily infer from what they have been told in the preceding context.[82] The actual impact of ἐπειδή being used instead of simple ἐπεί may differ from one context to another. In [8], for instance, the reader has to see for himself that Syagrus' speech may be rightly characterized as λόγοι ἀπεστραμμένοι, and by using ἐπειδή Herodotus, so to speak, invites him to do so: 'As Gelon saw that Syagrus' words were, of course, most unfriendly ...' In [25], ἐπειδή invites the reader to appreciate the heroic conduct of Pytheas, who, despite the fact that his ship was about to be taken, did not give up until he was literally being cut to pieces.

1.7.2.2. Relating *states of affairs and* connecting *information*

Having defined the contribution of the conjunctions that introduce the subclauses in question as operating on the level of *relationships* between the *states of affairs* referred to, we may define the difference between subclauses with a PS predicate and those with an AS predicate as operating on the level of the *discourse* itself: by expressing the predicate of a subordinate clause by means of PS Herodotus makes it

[81] Cf. Sicking-Van Ophuijsen 1993, 52 f.

[82] Peter Stork draws my attention to the fact that, in inscriptions, the considerations preceding a decree normally are introduced by ἐπειδή.

clear that such a clause is to be read in *connection* with, and owes (part of) its relevance to what is to come. The PS clauses discussed so far are not to be considered as separate narrative steps (or information units) in their own right, but serve the purpose of guiding the reader's perspective, setting the scene or providing the background for the state of affairs mentioned in the main clause. AS clauses, on the other hand, apart from the contribution of the clauses to the structure, coherence and/or significance of the narrative, typically serve the purpose of reporting (or recapitulating) a state of affairs that is to be considered to have a narrative relevance of its own.

1.7.3. *Participial clauses*

Most participial clauses discussed so far can be viewed as instances of the 'mode of coding discourse structure' commonly described by discourse linguists as 'clause chaining': 'information is presented in "chains" or thematic paragraphs in which mood, speech act and tense/modality are coded only in the paragraph-final clause.'[83]

Some AS participles belong to the category of 'foregrounded/asserted/sequential clauses' and convey an independent statement of fact: [12] (ἐπιστάντα), [13] (πυθόμενος, ἐλθών), [14] (ἡμερώσας δέ), [15] (ἀναπυθόμενος δέ), [33] (λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος), [38] (θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες), [48] (νικήσαντες), [36] (κελευσάντος Ξέρξεω).

In a number of instances, an AS participle is used for recapitulating a piece of information, so as to conclude a paragraph and/or to create a starting point for a new narrative unit, as in [16] (ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου). Cf. also VII.215: τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας. These instances often take the form of 'lexical overlap'.[84] A special case is [17], where <οἱ> δουλωθέντες refers to an 'out-of-sequence' (anterior) event in order to remind the reader of something he has been told earlier on: *in the fourth year the Egyptians – who had been enslaved by Cambyses – revolted from the Persians.*

The (preposed) PS participles typically serve the purpose of preparing the audience for what will come next, the information conveyed owing its relevance to what is reported in the main clause. The main categories of PS instances are

[83] Givón 310. Cf. Bakker 1993, 288.

[84] For the function of this type of AS participles in longer stretches of narrative in Herodotus see Sections 5.1.4. and 5.2.5.

– [18] (ἐλπίζων ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν): Artabanus' motivation for complying to Xerxes' wish, [22] (postposed: ἐθέλων): specifying Xerxes' motivation for digging the Athos channel.

– [19] (παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε ἀποθανεῖν), [20] (ἐπιτροπεύοντα ἐφόνευσε) and [26] (ταύτην ἰὼν τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρε) establish a frame of reference (time, location, circumstances) for what is to come next. In [19] παρασκευαζόμενον refers back to στελλομένου in VII.2[1] ('propositional overlap'). In [20] we have an instance of 'lexical overlap' (ἐπιτρέπει, ἐπιτροπεύοντα).

– Finally, in [13] (Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου γνώμην ἐτύγχανε ... ἀναβεβηκώς) and [30] (Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος), the participial clauses serve a double purpose: they provide the reader with new information and, at the same time, serve as a 'coherence bridge' between two narrative paragraphs, making it clear to the reader in what way the next paragraph is to be connected with what precedes.

2. POSTPOSED SUBCLAUSES AND PARTICIPLES

Among the passages discussed by Hettrich, there are almost no instances of subclauses and participles that have been put *after* the verbal constituent they are to be combined with.[85] In order to see whether the observations outlined above do apply also to these 'postposed' clauses, two related problems must be dealt with: taking it that the discourse function of subclauses and participles differs according to their position in the sentences involved we will have

a. to determine their specific contribution to the context at hand,[86] and

b. to see what consequences this may have for the distribution of AS and PS verb forms.[87]

2.1. *Postposed aorist subclauses*

> [54] ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγούς, ἐ π ε ί σφεας ἔ λ α β ο ν ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι. (VI.137[4])
>
> The Athenians consider themselves morally superior to the extent that they were authorised to kill the Pelasgians – after all, they had caught them plotting – but nevertheless had refused to do so, and, instead, had told them to leave the country.

The passage is part of Herodotus' report of the Athenians' account of the way the Pelasgians were cast out of Attica. It does not belong to the story as such, but explains why the Athenians considered expelling the Pelasgians a manifestation of moral superiority. By means

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[85] This rather cumbrous expression seeks to accommodate the fact that in some cases (cf., for instance, [54] and [55]) this constituent is not the main verb of the sentence in question.

[86] For the functional difference between preposed and postposed adverbial clauses see Bakker 1991, 233 ff., and the studies cited there.

[87] The instances of postposed subclauses discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 have been taken from Rijksbaron 1976: taking my data from one who does not share the view advocated here will prevent my being liable to the reproach of having made my examples fit my theory. I have, of course, left out those instances that have a present indicative, and the instances featuring a past verb form, where no viable alternative is available, like μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι *ηὔδα* ἡ γυνή (II.57[2]) and ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς *ἦν* ὁ τάσσων (IX.22[3]).

of the ἐπεί-clause (featuring a finite verb in an *accusativus cum infinitivo* context, and restating the content of VI.137[3]: ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσειν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ), Herodotus reminds the reader of the facts that would have authorized the Athenians to kill them.

[55] ἐόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενέειν. (IV.147[3])

His nephews grew up and became kings, and Theras, resenting being a subject – now that he had tasted power – refused to stay in Sparta.

Δεινὸν ποιεύμενος tells the reader what motivated Theras to leave Sparta, the ἐπείτε-clause explains why he feels the way he does: in order to understand this, the reader is to take into consideration that he had tasted power.

[56] ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τήν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆχαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθείη ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανώμενοι ὅκως μή σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώρην (VII.176[4])

Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate therein. It was built by the Phocians for fear – for (or: in view of the fact that) the Thessalians had come from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land which they now possess.

The passage is part of Herodotus' description of the topography of Thermopylae. The topic is the wall near Thermopylae. The data are presented in their natural order, ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες reporting who have built the wall, the postposed participle δείσαντες expressing the reason they had for doing so, and the ἐπεί-clause, finally, explaining what the Phocians' fear was about.

[57] τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον τὸν ἐξ Ἠιόνος. τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο καὶ τοὺς περιεόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο[88] ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἠθέλησε (...). (VII.107[1])

Of the governors who were expelled by the Greeks the only one Xerxes considered as a man of any worth was Boges. This man he was

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[88] For this type of clause cf. Section 3.3.1.

never tired of praising, and those of his sons who were still alive in Persia he treated with marked respect, since Boges did, indeed, deserve the highest praise: when he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, and the chance was offered to him of leaving the town and returning to Persia, he refused to do so.

By means of the ἐπεί-clause, Herodotus takes the reader back from Boges' sons to the man himself, so as to create the opportunity for explaining why Xerxes honoured not only the man himself but also his sons.

[58] ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἤιε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δῆθεν ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὁρῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἑτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δέ σφι ἠγόρευε ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἦγον δή μιν οἱ πυλουροί, ταῦτα *ὡς ἤκουσαν*, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, (...). (III.156[1-2])

When the soldiers on watch saw him, they ran down, and opening one of the gates a little asked him his name and business. He told them that he was Zopyrus, and that he had come to them as a deserter. The gate-keepers, of course, on hearing this, brought him before the assembly of the Babylonians.

It is, of course, the combination of Zopyrus' pitiable appearance and his message that makes the soldiers decide to let him in, and by adding δή to ἦγον Herodotus underlines that it is only natural for them to do so. As a consequence of this way of presenting the situation, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν comes in only after the main verb. The alternative construction *οἱ δὲ πυλουροί, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, ἦγον μιν (...) would result in an explicit topic switch, at the same time promoting the gate-keepers to the role of participants in the narrative in their own right.

[59] οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοί εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες, *ἐπεὶ* Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης *οὐ περιέπλωσε* Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δείσας τό τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. (IV.43[1])

Thus the first knowledge of Libya was gained. The next people to make a similar report are the Carthaginians: for Sataspes son of Teaspes, the Achaemenid, did not sail round Libya, though he was sent for that end; but he feared the length and loneliness of the voyage and returnedwithout accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother.

The ἐπεί-clause anticipates a question that may be raised by the audience: 'Wasn't there a story about Sataspes having sailed round

Libya? What about him?' – Herodotus' answer being that Sataspes has no claim on being considered an explorer of Libya's geography, since he did not even make the voyage. Putting the ἐπεί-clause before μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοί εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες (and, a fortiori, putting it between μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι and εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες), would result in nonsense.

[60] φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, *ἐπεὶ* οὐ χρηστῶς *ἐξέμαθον* αὐτὴν οἱ Ἀμαζόνες (IV.117)

The Sauromates use the Scythian language, but it has always been a corrupt form of it because the Amazons did not learn to speak it properly.

The ἐπεί-clause contains Herodotus' explanation why it is that the Sauromates from time immemorial use a special brand of Scythian.

2.2. *Postposed imperfect subclauses*

[61] λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὀτάνης, *ἐπειδὴ ὥρα* σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον· (...) (III.72[1])

To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence

Apart from its position in the sentence, the subclause is comparable to, for instance, [8] (ἐπειδὴ ὥρα). In a situation with two participants, something like *ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, λέγει ... would have been normal. The situation at hand, however, is exceptional since the conversation involves seven participants, and Herodotus reports the contribution of three of them. This accounts for the fact that, in the course of this conversation, the sentences that indicate a change of speaker are all of the same form: (71[3]) εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης: (71[4]) λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος: (72[2]) ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοισίδε: (73[1]) λέγει ὁ Γωβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα.[89]

[62] καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλεύσαι[90] οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, *ἐπείτε δή*[91] οὐδεὶς πόρος *ἐφαίνετο* τῆς ἁλώσιος (III.156[2])

Zopyrus bade them see his lamentable plight, pretending that the injuries he had done to himself had been inflicted upon him by Darius, because he had advised the king to abandon the siege, as there appeared to be no way to take the city.

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[89] It doesn't help much to suppose, with Rijksbaron (1976, 91), that, in this conversation, Herodotus just wanted to stick to one and the same expression for indicating a change of speaker.

[90] Stephanus; Mss. συμβουλεῦσαι.

[91] Schweighäuser; δὲ aR, om. DPSV.

As we may gather from the content of the subclause, it is Zopyrus and not Herodotus himself who is responsible for the statement. The advice, of course, is part of Zopyrus' mendacious story, and he seeks to enhance his credibility by motivating it in a way that will appeal to the Babylonians: they will be readily prepared to believe a defector who deems it impossible that the Persians will take their city. Putting ἐπείτε δὴ (...) ἐφαίνετο before συμβουλεύσαι would make the reader conceive of it as Zopyrus' real reason for advising Darius to withdraw. Substituting AS for PS would make Herodotus himself responsible for the content of the clause.

> [63] Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἠλεῖον μοῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, *ἐπείτε* οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ *οὐ προεχώρεε* χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα (V.44²)
>
> The Crotoniates say that they had no foreign ally in their war with Sybaris, except the Elean sooth-sayer Callias, of whom the story was that he had fled to Croton from Telys, because when he was sacrificing for an attack on Croton he could get no favourable omens.

The passage contrasts the Crotoniates' version of what has happened with that of the Sybarites – who had it that the Crotoniates enjoyed the assistance of Dorieus. The purpose of the ἐπείτε-clause is not to present the reason Callias had for his conduct: it is the Crotoniates' contribution to the plausibility of their story by specifying the circumstances under which Callias joined them. The subclause is to be compared with ἐπείτε (...) ἐφαίνετο in [62] in that Herodotus himself declines responsibility for its content: *in this conflict of evidence, you may agree with whichever party you think is telling the truth* (45²).

> [64] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρης κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλια, κατασχόντες δὲ ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι. οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε, *ἐπείτε ἐνίκα* μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. (VI.101²)
>
> As to the Eretrians, coming out and fighting was not what they planned to do; on the contrary: to defend their walls, if they could, that was what they were concerned about, the proposal not to abandon the town having prevailed.

Herodotus focuses on the Eretrians' refusing to come out and fight the Persians, and then proceeds to inform his reader, by means of a 'left-dislocated' εἰ-clause, about their actual intentions. In order to explain this way of presenting the facts we have to go back to VI.100¹⁻²:

there we have been informed that counsels among the Eretrians were divided (some of them planned to abandon the city and make for the Euboean hills, others were preparing to betray their city) but we have not been told the outcome of the deliberations. So the ἐπείτε-clause provides the frame of reference for τούτου σφι πέρι ἔμελε. Herodotus' picture of the unheroic behaviour of the Eretrians is distinctly unflattering: there is an implicit, but unmistakable contrast with the courageous behaviour of the Athenians (cf. VII.139), who, at another occasion (VIII.41), abandoned their city in order to fight the Persians, and Herodotus' phrasing seems designed to underline it. Putting the subclause in its normal preposed position would destroy the emphatic contrast created by the 'left-dislocation' (ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν ... εἴ κως δὲ ...) and the innuendo conveyed by the order of constituents as it is.

[65] ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως [καρπόν]. πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο,[92] *ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων* [τοὺς προφήτας] τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον] ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται καὶ δικαιοῖ. (IX.93[4])

Oracles were delivered to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they consulted upon the reason of this calamity: they were told that they had acted unjustly in blinding Euenius, the guardian of the sacred flock.

It doesn't seem to make much difference whether one is prepared to follow Stein and Hude in bracketing τοὺς προφήτας and οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον: by putting something like *ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ... before the main sentence, Herodotus would have created a discourse boundary comparable to ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, and thereby have turned the interrogation of the oracle into a separate event sequence in the story. In its present position, the subclause provides the frame of reference for the continuation of Herodotus' story about Euenius: the answer the people of Apollonia got from the oracles and the way they compensated Euenius for the loss of his eyes.

[66] Θεμιστοκλέης (...) πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα (...) τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σίκιννος, (...) τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, *ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο* οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον (VIII.75[1])

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[92] ἐγένετο d.

> At a later day Themistocles made him a Thespian – it was at the time the Thespians were enrolling new citizens – and also a rich man.

The ὡς-clause contains backgrounded information which derives its relevance from what precedes. By putting it after Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, but before χρήμασι ὄλβιον, Herodotus makes it clear that the relevance of the information is limited to the former. Moreover, by putting it before the main verb (Θεμιστοκλέης, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, ...), he would have made the reader suppose that the Thespians are being introduced as a participant in the story in their own right – *quod non.*

2.3. *Summary*

2.3.1. *Postposed aorist subclauses*

Regarding the above instances of postposed AS subclauses, the following may be observed:

– All AS subclauses present a self-contained narrative assertion or statement of fact.

– The subclauses in [54], [55], [56] and [57] are not meant to be part of the narrative sequence: they convey the narrator's explanation of a character's thinking or feeling in a certain way.

– In [59] and [60] it is as a person rather than as a narrator that Herodotus provides an explanation.

– the ὡς-clause in [58] recapitulates something we have been told immediately before: Zopyrus told the guards that he had come as a deserter, and the guards, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, brought him before the assembly. From a viewpoint of content, the clause is comparable to instances like the preposed ὡς ἐπύθοντο in [43] – Herodotus' motive for putting it after the main verb presumably being that he did not want it to function as a discourse boundary.

2.3.2. *Postposed imperfect subclauses*

Apart from [61], which seems to be a special case, among the instances of postposed PS clauses two categories may be distinghuished:

– In [62] and [63], the subclauses serve the purpose of offering the reader a *dramatis persona*'s motivation for acting or speaking in a certain way. Both in [62] and in [63] there are explicit indications that the responsibility for the content of the clauses rests with the speakers themselves.

– In [64]–[66], the subclauses provide the background for some-

thing the reader has been told just before. By postposing them Herodotus has made it clear that they are not to be incorporated into the narrative.

2.4. *Postposed aorist participles*

The 'database' for this paragraph and the next has been assembled by collecting all relevant instances from Herodotus 1.16-45. I have selected for discussion those passages that seemed to lend themselves best for illustrating the main characteristics of the construction types involved.[93]

The effect of postposing an AS participial clause is that it provides the reader with additional information without incorporating it into the sequence of events that makes up the main narrative. From a viewpoint of content, the clauses provide further description of the action referred to by the main verb or further details connected with it. They can, so to speak, be read as footnotes:

[67] ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε· ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, *παραδεξάμενος* τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. (1.16-17^1)

Of the other deeds done by him in his reign these were the most notable: he made war against the Milesians – he had taken over this war from his father.

[68] Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, *βασιλεύσας* ἔτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ *ἐκφυγὼν* τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν. (1.25)

Alyattes the Lydian, after having finished his war with the Milesians, died; he had been king for fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi (the occasion for this was that he had recovered his health): a large silver bowl, and a salver of welded iron.

[69] ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμάζουσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί (...) καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθη-

[93] So as to enable the reader to see for himself whether my selection reflects some bias or a priori, I give the complete list: AS: 1.16^2: προσπταίσας μεγάλως, 17^1: παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον, 18^1: μαχεσαμένων, 20^1: ἀκούσας, 25^1: βασιλεύσας, 25^2: ἐκφυγών, 26^2: ἐξάψαντες, 29^1: ἐκπλώσας, 31^1: εἴπας, 33: δόξας, 34^2: βληθέντα, 37^2: παριδών. PS: 21^1: βουλόμενος, 24^2: προιέντα, παραιτεόμενον, 24^7; μετιέντα, 27^4: ἐλπίζων (= [79] below), ἀρώμενοι, 31^1: δοκέων, 35^4: μένων, 40^1: ἀποφαίνων, 41^1: παρέχων, 44^1: μαρτυρόμενος, ὀνομαζόμενος, 45^1: προτείνων, κελεύων. I have skipped those instances where either no AS alternative is available or the corresponding AS participle is derived from another verb stem: 17^1: ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, 26^3: ἐπιφέρων, 27^3: ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, 27^5: πειθόμενον, 35^2: λέγων, 38^2: φυλακὴν ἔχων, 45^1: φέροντες, λέγων, (καίπερ) ἐών.

ναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν *ἐκπλώσας*, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. (1.29[1])

When Sardis was at the height of its wealth, all the great Greek teachers paid visits to it, among them Solon the Athenian. At the request of his countrymen he had made a code of law for Athens and had left the city for ten years: he put to sea under the pretext of wanting just to see the world but in fact in order to avoid being forced to repeal any of the laws he had made.

[70] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, *ἐξάψαντες* ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. (1.26[2])

The Ephesians, when they were besieged by him, put their town under the protection of Artemis (; this they did) by running a rope from their walls to the temple of the goddess.

2.5. *Postposed present participles*

There seem to be two main categories:

In [71]–[73] the participial clauses serve the purpose of supplying, from the perspective of the *dramatis persona*, further description of an action mentioned just before. The choice of PS rather than AS is bound up with the characteristics (the *actio*)[94] of the actions involved: μετιέντα, προϊέντα, and παρέχων refer to the willingness (or 'not-willingness') of the Agent to perform the actions involved; παραιτεόμενον leaves it open whether the persons to whom the request is addressed will in fact comply with it. Moreover, in [71] and [72], the participial clauses, despite their being postposed, further describe the frame of reference for what *is to follow*.

[71] Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ *μετιέντα*, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων (1.24[7])

Periander, not believing the tale, put Arion under guard, not prepared to let him go anywhere, and kept careful watch for the returning of the sailors.

[72] τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μέν σφι *προϊέντα*, ψυχὴν δὲ *παραιτεόμενον* (1.24[2])

Arion, on discovering the plot, took up the position of a supplicant, offering them all his money and begging them to spare his life.

[73] Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάριτι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, *παρέχων* πᾶσαν δαπάνην (1.41[1])

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[94] Cf. note 19.

Adrastus, it was I who gave you ritual purification and took you into my house, sparing no expense to entertain you.

In [74] and [75], the participial clauses convey the motive the Agent had for acting in a certain way:

[74] Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον *βουλόμενος* σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομῇ (1.21')

Alyattes, as soon as he received the message from Delphi, sent a herald to Miletus in the hope of concluding a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians until the temple could be rebuilt.

[75] ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, *δοκέων* πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι (1.31')

Now when Solon had led Croesus on by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that surely the second prize would be his.

As I will explain below,[95] in cases like these, a side-effect of PS having been chosen is that it invites the reader to share the perspective, or point of view, of the *dramatis persona.* One may compare

[76] ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα *δόξας* ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε (1.33)

These sentiments were not of the sort to give Croesus any pleasure. He let Solon go with cold indifference; he was firmly convinced that Solon was a fool for telling him to look at the end of everything without any regard to present prosperity.

where the AS participle presents the narrator's diagnosis of Croesus' ominous attitude towards the condition of man, rather than inviting the reader to share the perspective of Croesus by putting himself in his position.

2.6. *The case of ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας*

There are at least two reasons for dealing separately with the distribution of ἐλπίζων and ἐλπίσας:

– ἐλπίζω differs from most other verbs in that, in Herodotus, postposed and preposed participles derived from it are fairly evenly distributed (postposed: 15, preposed: 12).

– Unlike other lexemes which refer to durative actions, ἐλπίζω

[95] Section 3.3.

furnishes relatively many instances of AS participles occupying the position before the main verb, which, characteristically, is reserved for 'clause-chaining' participles denoting 'events' and presenting these as successive steps in the narrative sequence.

If we wish to account for this by something like Hettrich's 'rule', we would have to read, for instance, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καί σφι ἥκειν σύμμαχον ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων ([99] below) in such a way that, at the moment the Babylonians are ready to grant what they are being asked, they have finished believing that the messenger is speaking the truth – which, to say the least, is unnatural. At best, we would have to assume that AS participles are to be given an 'ingressive' interpretation,[96] whereas PS participles would convey that the person involved is supposing or believing something at the moment the 'A-action' sets in. It seems, however, rather artificial to paraphrase, for instance, Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν ([77] below) as 'Croesus got to/began to believe that he spoke the truth and [subsequently] said ...' rather than by something like: 'Croesus thought that he spoke the truth and said ...'. In πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα ([99] below) πάγχυ seems to exclude a paraphrase like 'they began to believe/got to believe'.[97]

In order to explain these facts I will follow an observation made by E.J. Bakker, who, in an unpublished article,[98] suggests that the distribution of ἐλπίζων and ἐλπίσας reflects a *difference in point of view*: ἐλπίζων presenting an expectation/belief/thought from the point of view of the *dramatis persona*, ἐλπίσας doing so from the point of view of the narrator. I will discuss all 27 instances in Herodotus, dealing separately with the seven instances that relate to Croesus.

2.6.1. *ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας: the case of Croesus*

[77] Ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι. Κροῖσον δὲ *ἐλπίσαντα* λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν· αἲ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι· Ὦ

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[96] Cf. Section 4.2.2.2.

[97] πάγχυ is to be taken with ἐλπίσας: cf. 1.31[1] (= [75] above), where the word order is different.

[98] 'Whose Point of View? Narratology and Linguistics in Greek Historians'. Cf. Bakker 1991, 234: 'A frame opened by a temporal subclause may also orient the perspective from which the upcoming discourse is presented. Frames may be either 'experiential' or 'narratorial', depending on whose point of view is intended: a character's or the narrator's.'

βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἰκότα *ἐλπίζων*· νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἤ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ (...); (I.27[3-4])

'Your majesty, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, planning to march against you to Sardis'. Croesus believed that he spoke the truth and said: 'I only wish the gods would put it in the mind of the islanders to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians'. 'Your majesty', Bias replied, 'I see that you earnestly pray that you may catch the islanders on horseback on the continent, and what you expect is only natural. But the islanders, of course, as soon as they have heard that you are building ships to attack them, will pray that they may catch you on the seas'.

It would be rather odd to make Croesus himself consciously consider the possibility that Bias does *not* mean what he says: it seems obvious that ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα is to be read as a narrator's comment: *Then Croesus – who took him at his word – said* (...), or: *It didn't occur to Croesus that he was being led on, and he said* (...).

Οἰκότα ἐλπίζων, on the other hand, is meant to be Bias' rendering of Croesus' motive for answering as he did: Croesus' answer is inspired by his reckoning that the islanders are playing his game. Together with Bias' qualifying Croesus' line of reasoning as perfectly natural, this prepares the ground for the final question, that will make Croesus realize that it is bad strategy to challenge your enemy on his own ground.

[78] νῦν ὦν ἵμερος ἐπειρέσθαι μοι ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον. ὁ μὲν *ἐλπίζων* εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατον ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει· (I.30[3])

Croesus' asking this question was inspired by his hope that Solon would confirm his belief that he was the happiest of men. Solon, however, refused to flatter and answered in accordance with the truth.

By ὁ μὲν (...) ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, Herodotus restates what we know from the preceding sentences, so as to get the opportunity for informing us about Croesus' motivation.

[79] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε (...) καὶ φιάλας (...) καὶ εἵματα (...) νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην κατέκαιε, *ἐλπίζων* τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι (I.50[1])

After having recounted (in a γάρ-sentence) the sacrifices made by Croesus, with ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι, Herodotus elaborates on ἱλάσκετο, giving us Croesus' thought while

performing the sacrifice: *expecting that, by these means* (i.e.: by sacrificing on so grand a scale), *he would bind the god more closely to his interest.*

[80] ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε *ἐλπίσας* καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ (1.54[1])

When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles; he was fully convinced that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, sent once again to Delphi and endowed the Delphians, having informed himself about their number, with two gold staters each.

Here πάγχυ provides us with an indication that ἐλπίσας is to be understood as a piece of dramatic irony, conveying to the reader that Croesus is acting as if the oracle had already come true. *'I am *fully* confident of destroying the power of Cyrus, so I will let the Delphians have a share in my joy' would have been a rather odd train of thought.

[81] τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἥσθη, *ἐλπίζων* ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς οὐδ' οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαί κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. (1.56[1])

This reply gave Croesus more pleasure than any he had got so far, the motive for his joy being that he considered it most unlikely that a mule was to become king of the Medes, and that he and his line would remain in power for ever.

The passage differs from [80] in that, here, we can easily imagine Croesus saying or thinking something like: 'this is a most favourable reply, since one may surely deem it impossible for a mule to become king of the Persians: so I myself and my offspring will rule forever over the Medes'.

In 1.56[2]–70[1], Herodotus completes his report of Croesus' preparations for attacking the Persians. Having devoted part of chapter 70 to the story of a precious bowl the Spartans had meant to be taken to Croesus, at the beginning of 71, he returns to the account of Croesus' campaign:

[82] κατὰ μέν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε, Κροῖσος δὲ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, *ἐλπίσας* καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν (1.71[1])

Here, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν is to be read as a kind of cross-reference to 1.54[1] (πάγχυ ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην):

> Croesus, having failed to grasp the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, believing that he would destroy Cyrus and the Persian power.

As can be gathered from ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ (which, of course, can only be said from the narrator's point of view), by means of ἐλπίσας, Herodotus is restating what we already know from 1.54[1] – thereby specifying ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, rather than describing what was going on in Croesus' mind.

After having devoted 1.71[2-3] to Croesus' receiving a piece of advice from Sandanis, and 1.72 to the geography of Cappadocia and the river Halys, in 1.73-74, Herodotus identifies further motives for Croesus' attack: 'Apart from his craving to extend his territories, Croesus had two other reasons for his attack on Cappadocia: his trust in the oracle (τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐών) and his desire to punish (τείσασθαι θέλων) Cyrus for his treatment of Astyages'. After having given an account of Croesus' relationship with Astyages, Herodotus goes on to explain how this relationship arose, and then returns to the main story:

> [83] τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, *ἐλπίσας* πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν (1.75[1-2])
>
> It was because of this quarrel with Cyrus that Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians, and, moreover (*καὶ δὴ καί introducing what is important in the present context*), that he, when an ambiguous answer came, thinking it to be favorable to him, led his army to the Persian territory:

Now that Croesus is actually about to enter Persian territory, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι restates yet another time what we have been told at 1.54[1] and 1.71[1] (= [80] and [82] above): 'the point of the ἐλπίσας-clause, in combination with ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου (containing a narratorial evaluation) is not to state *what* Croesus thought while marching against the Persians, but to state that he had the *wrong* thought. (...) Cases of dramatic irony as this are among the clearest cases of the divergence of the narrator's and a character's point of view.' (Bakker).

2.6.2. *ἐλπίζων/ἐλπίσας: remaining instances*

2.6.2.1. *ἐλπίζων: preposed*

[84] καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἱστιαῖος *ἐλπίζων* οὐκ ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρεοῦσαν ἁμαρτάδα φιλοψυχίην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθήσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετιεὶς καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἴη Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος (VI.29[1])

Histiaeus' courageous attempt to save himself from what seems a certain death is motivated by his expectation that the Persian king will spare his life.

[85] ὁ δὲ *ἐλπίζων* Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε (VII.10A[2])

As Bakker has it: 'The participial clause describes the thoughts of Darius while (or better: in) not listening to Artabanus, and (Σκύθας) τοὺς νομάδας his depreciating evaluation': Darius' turning a deaf ear to Artabanus' advice is inspired by his conviction that he will subdue the Scythians, 'those wanderers who live in a cityless land'.[99]

[86] τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος, *ἐλπίζων* Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον (VII.17[1])

Artabanus' readiness to comply is inspired by his expectation that he will prove Xerxes' words vain.

[87] Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐ δή τι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. *ἐλπίζων* δέ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχῃ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, καταχτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας (III.143[2])

Lycaretus' expectation that Maeandrius is going to die starts the train of thought that makes him decide to put all the prisoners to death, in order to make himself master of Samos.

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[99] As Bakker observes, 'the tight syntactic coordination (notice the clause-combining use of τε) has a beautiful rhetorical point: the binding of Darius' experiential 'here and now' to the ultimate disaster ("he would not listen to me and lost the war") effects a strong connection between the Darius example and Xerxes: the implication is that in being overambitious, underestimating the Greeks, Xerxes, too, has already lost the war.'

[88] καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ *ἐλπίζουσα* τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον (IX.110[1])

When Amestris found out that Artaÿnte had the robe, it was not against her that her anger was directed: acting from the belief that the girl's mother was responsible she plotted the destruction of Masistes' wife.

The participial clause conveys the assumption that makes Amestris act as she does.

[89] ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. *ἐλπίζων* γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε (I.22[3])

Peace was concluded for no other reason than because Alyattes, expecting to find the Milesians reduced to extremities by famine, was told by the herald on his return that things were contrary to his belief.

Here, ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε provides an explicit indication that, in the γάρ-clause, Herodotus intends to give us Alyattes' own thought.

2.6.2.2. *ἐλπίζων: postposed*

[90] μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἐόντα ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι *ἐλπίζοντα* ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι (III.130[3])

Democedes, by using Greek methods and substituting milder remedies for the rough-and-ready treatment of the Egyptian doctors, enabled the king to get some sleep, and very soon cured him completely, though he had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot.

[91] Τί κάθησθε, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἱρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι· τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων, οὐδαμὰ *ἐλπίζων* ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν (III.151[2])

The anonymous Babylonian's saying was inspired by the belief that no mule would ever have a fowl.

In both passages the last clause contains 'backgrounded' information about a character's expectations. In [90], it serves the purpose of enhancing the professional quality of Democedes as a doctor. There can be no question of preposing the participle – the subject of ἐλπίζων being not Democedes, but the king.

[92] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ *οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες* ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ Πελοποννήσῳ (VIII.74[1])

At VIII.70[2], Herodotus, for a moment, has left the scene where the battle of Salamis is about to begin, in order to describe the state of alarm of the Greeks at this crucial moment (τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος καὶ ἀρρωδίη). VIII.71[1-2] contain his report of the Peloponnesians' hasty efforts to build a wall across the Isthmus in order to prevent the Persian army from invading the Peloponnesus. After having devoted chapter 72-3 to a catalogue of the communities which joined in the work and of those who did not, at the beginning of chapter 74, he concludes his description of what is going on at the Isthmus by stating the fears that motivated the Peloponnesian effort, and directs the reader's attention back to Salamis: *so the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope with, seeing that all they possessed was now at stake, and not expecting to win renown with the ships. The men at Salamis, on hearing of the work, nevertheless were affrighted* (ἀρρώδεον and δειμαίνοντες taking up δέος καὶ ἀρρωδίη from 70[2]).

[93] τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρῆκε ἡμέρας, *ἐλπίζων* αἰεί σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτῃ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθείς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. (VII.210[1])

For four days Xerxes waited, in constant expectation that the Greeks would take to flight; but on the fifth, seeing them not withdrawing and deeming that their remaining there was but shamelessness and folly, he was angered, and sent the Medes and Cissians against them, ordering them to take the Greeks alive and bring them into his presence.

The function of the participle is the same as that of ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο (...) μένειν: they present to the reader Xerxes' reasons for acting as he does. The 'chiastic' order underlines the contrast between his hopes and their frustration.

[94] ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, *θέλων* εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, *ἐλπίζων* διὰ παντὸς ὁμολογήσειν σφέας. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, (...), ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τὰς Ἀθήνας (IX.13[2])

The runner then left for home, and Mardonius, having heard his report, no longer felt inclined to remain in Attica. Before he had had word of it, he had held on there because he wanted to know which

way the Athenians would go, and had refrained from doing damage to the land of Attica, hoping that they would come to terms.

Both θέλων and ἐλπίζων serve the purpose of presenting the reason Mardonius has for acting as he does. The word order seems designed to bring out the contrast between his attitude before (πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι) and after (ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε) having got the messenger's report that is presented by Herodotus as the turning point in the narrative.

[95] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, *ἐλπίζοντες* πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἧκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ῥεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁρμημένα βρονταί τε σκληραί (VIII.12²)

On hearing this, the troops that were there were seized by panic: in their present evil case they expected utter destruction: for almost before they could draw breath again after the storm at Pelion, which wrecked so many of their ships, they were faced with a hard fight at sea, and now, on top of that, they were exposed to floods of rain, the rushing of the swolen streams into the sea, and a tremendous thunderstorm.

[96] ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, *ἐλπίζοντες* τῇσι περιεούσῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα (VIII.96¹)

The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, expecting that Xerxes would use his remaining ships to make another attack.

[97] ὁ δέ οἱ ἔφη φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, *ἐλπίζων* τοὺς υἱέας στρατηίης ἀπολελύσθαι, ὁ δὲ κελεύει τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐλείποντο· (IV.84²)

Darius said that, in answer to a modest request from a friend, he would leave him all his sons. Oeobazus rejoiced greatly, believing that his sons were released from service. But Darius ordered his officers to put all Oeobazus' sons to death. So they were indeed left behind – with their throats cut.

In all these three instances, the participle presents a character's reason not for a way of acting, but for a feeling or attitude (φόβον, ἕτοιμοι, περιχαρής) ascribed to him. Preposing them, in [95] and [96], would have resulted in their being coordinated with another parti-

ciple (ἀκούοντες, κατειρύσαντες) that is to be assigned a different function. In [97] the place of the participle in the sentence contributes to the dramatic contrast between Oebazus' hope and Darius' putting his sons to death.

2.6.2.3. *ἐλπίσας: preposed*

As in [77], [80], [82] and [83], in [98]–[100], the point of the participial phrases is not to state *what* the *dramatis personae* thought, but to state that they had the *wrong* thought. In all three instances, the participle represents a step in the narrative sequence.

> [98] Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα [ἐκ] τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ *ἐλπίσας* μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτός τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε· Πρήξασπες, οὕτω μοι διέπρηξας τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτέ σοι Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς ὁ σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, ... (III.62[2])
>
> When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that he spoke the truth, and that he had been betrayed by Prexaspes (taking it that, when he was sent to kill Smerdis, he had not done so), fixed his eyes on Prexaspes, and said: (...)

This is a complex case: the consideration that the messenger is speaking the truth may or may not be supposed to be part of what Cambyses is actually thinking. The belief, however, that he has been betrayed, together with the reasoning that makes him think so, clearly must be attributed to Cambyses himself. It seems, therefore, best to read the whole clause as the narrator's explanation of Cambyses' reaction – αὐτός τε making a transition from signalling to the reader that Cambyses is mistaken to describing the line of reasoning that makes the king react as he does: *he took him at his word, and* (or: *that is to say: he*) *thought that he had been betrayed by Prexaspes.*

> [99] οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὁρῶντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὤτων ἐστερημένον μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ *ἐλπίσαντες* λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καί σφι ἥκειν σύμμαχον ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων (III.157[1])
>
> When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke the truth and had come to be their ally; so they were ready to grant him all he asked.

As in [98], Herodotus, in one and the same sentence, combines his own explanation of the Babylonians' reaction (*it didn't occur to them that the man could be a liar*) with the reason of their taking Zopyrus at his

word: the sorry condition of the man led them to believe that he had come to offer them his services.

[100] τότε μὲν οὕτως ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, *ἐλπίσαντές* σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἵους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι συνέβαλλον (VII.212[1])

On the next day, the Persians had no better succes in fighting. The Greeks being so few in number, they supposed them to be disabled by wounds and no longer capable of further resistance, and joined battle.

2.6.2.4. *ἐλπίσας: postposed*

In all remaining instances, the postposed participial clauses stand apart from the narrative itself; they are to be compared to, for instance, [83]: to quote once more Bakker's felicitous description: they do not tell the reader *what* the *dramatis personae* were thinking, but are to be read as a piece of narratioral evaluation, pointing out to the reader that they had the *wrong* thought.

[101] οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ 'Αρτεμίσιον, *ἐλπίσαντες* ὀλίγας τινάς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας (VII.192[2])

On hearing this, they offered prayers and libations to Poseidon their saviour, and made all speed back to Artemisium: they supposed (contrary to the truth) that they would find but few ships to oppose them.

[102] τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπεὶς διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ *ἐλπίσας* μή κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδις (I.77[4])

As for the soldiers he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded: he (*mistakenly*) thought it impossible that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would ever march against Sardis.

[103] ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν 'Αθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, *ἐλπίσας*[100] δέ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης πάσης τῆς 'Αττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ (IX.4[2])

Mardonius made his second approach, although he was fully aware of their feelings towards him: he (*wrongly*) supposed that the occupation of all Attica by his troops would abate their stiff-neckedness.

Of course, Mardonius proves to be wrong: the messenger he sends to the Greeks will be stoned to death.

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[100] ἐλπίζων aP

[104] ὁρῶντες δέ σφεας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, *ἐλπίσαντές* σφεας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα *ἐλπίσαντες*, τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθεΐ τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας (VIII.10[1])

When Xerxes' men and his generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea. They (*wrongly*) expected that they were going to win an easy victory – which was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy.

2.6.3. *Summary*

Ἐλπίζω, of course, is only one representative of a semantic group of verbs (such as ἡγέομαι, νομίζω and the like) that denote a character's believing, hoping, expecting, wishing &c. The alternation of ἐλπίσας and ἐλπίζων bears out Bakker's observation that, with verbs that belong to this category, when using a PS participle, Herodotus presents, so to speak 'from the inside', a belief, thought, expectation &c. as a character's motive for acting or feeling in some way – all instances of PS being cases of what has been termed by narratologists[101] explicit[102] 'secondary' or 'embedded focalization'.

The AS participles, on the other hand, are to be read as the narrator's (or Herodotus') comments on the beliefs and expectations which explain the actions of the *dramatis personae*. This is, of course, not to say that signalling differences *qua* point of view is to be seen as (part of) the content of AS or PS *as such*: it is to be seen as a side-effect of the different discourse function of AS and PS that will be defined below (Section 3.1–3.).

As to the considerations that affect the *position* of ἐλπίσας and ἐλπίζων in the sentence, it is to be noted that participial clauses in this category differ from those discussed in Sections 2.4. and 2.5: there is no need to make the relative position of ἐλπίσας and ἐλπίζων vis-à-vis the main verb reflect a chronological order: normally, the character involved will believe, expect &c. something before acting accordingly,

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[101] M. Bal, *Narratology. Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.* Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1985, 100-115; I.J.F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad.* Amsterdam 1987.

[102] To be distinguished from 'implicit' secondary focalization, like in an example given by Pinkster (*It was raining. Unemployment figures were still high. Gloomily the union leader was staring out of the window*), where the hearer discovers how the first two sentences cohere only at the moment the third sentence makes it clear that the union leader is to be seen as the 'focalizer'.

and will continue to do so afterwards. This leaves the author relatively free in assigning participles in this category a position before or after the main verb. Apparently, the normal thing to do – so to speak the 'default' option – is to put the participle before its main verb. The considerations that made Herodotus in some cases prefer the alternative possibility seem to be of a rather diverse nature.

In [92], for instance, ἅτε (...) οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι follows upon an extensive description of the Peloponnesians' fortifying the Isthmus (summarized by τοιούτῳ πόνῳ). Together with τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θέοντες, it characterizes the desperate energy of those who are labouring, thus highlighting the fact that, despite all this, the men at Salamis still are as frightened as they were before. In [95], the preceding description of the rough weather and its consequences is in itself quite sufficient to make the reader understand why the troops are afraid. ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι, together with the πρὶν γάρ-sentence following it, does not serve the purpose of making the reader understand the φόβος of the soldiers, but of highlighting it and providing a stepping stone for elaborating on the full series of disasters that have visited them. In [90], the fact that the Persian king had lost hope of ever regaining the use of his foot is brought in in order to highlight Democedes' outstanding qualities as a physician.

In other cases, the position of the participle seems due to considerations of syntax and/or rhetoric. In [96], [101], [102] and [104], preposing the participle would have resulted in putting it on a par with another participle that plays a different role in the narrative ([96]: κατειρύσαντες; [101] προχέαντες, [102] ἀπείς, [104] ἐπενείκαντες). In [104], moreover, preposing ἐλπίσαντες would destroy the basis for Herodotus' additional comment (οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες).

In [93], [97] and [103], preposing the participles would destroy the parallel order of the sentences in question ([93]: τέσσερας μὲν (...) πέμπτῃ δέ (...); [97]: ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος (...) ὁ δὲ (...); [103]: προέχων μὲν (...) ἐλπίσας δέ). In [94] the position of ἐλπίζων contrasts Mardonius' naive hope with its frustration. In [91] preposing the participle would destroy the whole syntax of the sentence.

3. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

3.1. *The discourse function of the contrast AS versus PS*

As far as I can see, in all instances of PS discussed above, the PS forms have one and the same discourse function: by using PS Herodotus invites his audience to connect the subordinate clause and the main clause in question so as to form one complex and integrated whole rather than two separate units of information. If, in

> [7] ταῦτα εἴπας Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπείτε οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν *ἐπειρῶντο* διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

we would substitute ἐπειρήθησαν for ἐπειρῶντο, the reader would be led to believe that, for the moment, he is being informed just *that* the Persians made advances to the Macedonian 'women', and thereby would fail to appreciate that he is told this by way of an introduction to the main clause.

In the first instance discussed above, however,

> [1] οἱ δὲ (...) ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ *ἀνεχώρησαν* ἀσινέες πάντες ἓξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

the subclause is to be taken as a unit of information in its own right, presenting the event it refers to as being relevant as such, whereas PS would have made the two clauses constitute one integrated unit of information, thereby reducing the report of the return of the young men to the status of an introduction to ἐξώρυξε.

By expressing myself in this way I intend to make it as clear as possible that the difference between AS and PS is to be defined *on a specific level of analysis*. In the passages just quoted at least three different levels of analysis can be distinguished:

– From a viewpoint of *information structure* (or presentation), I submit that, by choosing PS, Herodotus imposes an organizing perspective on the reader's perception of the subclause vis à vis the main clause: he is to *connect* the subclause to the main clause, whereas AS invites him to assign to the subclause a narrative relevance of its own.

– From a viewpoint of *reference*, the subordinating conjunction ἐπεί[103] suggests to the reader that, *in the reality referred to*, the situation

[103] Cf. Section 1.7.2.1.

mentioned in the subclause in some significant way *relates* to the situation that is the referent of the main clause.

– From a viewpoint of *syntax*, the sentence can be analysed as a complex sentence, consisting of a dependent clause and a main clause.[104]

3.2. *Time relationship?*

If this description of the contrast between AS and PS hits the mark, it must be concluded that considerations of chronology and/or time relationship do not come into play: the reader is to infer the chronological order of events from the order in which they are presented to him. If he is interested at all in ascertaining whether different actions do or do not overlap in time, he will have to consult the nature of the situations involved[105] and/or his knowledge about the way things tend to be in the real world. When I say something like

Being fast asleep I did not notice that the telephone was ringing

it will be clear that I was asleep both before and after the telephone rang. From

Being fast asleep I suddenly woke up by the sound of a thunderclap

however, we gather that the speaker was asleep before, and awake after the thunderclap – and we do so by consulting our knowledge of the referents of *to be asleep*, *telephone* and *thunderstorm* rather than the semantics of the verb forms involved. I would take it that, in Greek, the same kind of considerations did apply, rather than assume that the Greeks were obsessed by time relationships to such an extent that they maintained a separate grammatical category for the sole purpose of encoding the time relationship of each and every action to some other action in the context or to a '*moment donné*'.

In order to clarify my position, I add a few observations of a polemical nature that, in my view, corroborate this negative conclusion.

According to Rijksbaron[106] 'the present stem signifies that a state of affairs is being carried out and is, therefore, *not-completed* (imperfective value)', whereas the aorist stem 'signifies that a state of affairs is *completed* (confective value)'. Further on[107] he has it that the imperfect

[104] For a discussion of the (discourse-organizational) role of subclauses as against main clauses see Bakker 1991, 243 f.

[105] Technically speaking: the connotation of the description of the action in question. Cf. Sicking 1991, 39 ff.

[106] 1994,1.

[107] *ib.*, 11. Cf. Rijksbaron 1979, 232: '(...) the imperfect, referring to an unfinished

indicative, since it characterizes a state of affairs as 'not-completed', is fit for creating 'a framework within which other states of affairs may occur, whereas the aorist indicative characterizes the state of affairs as 'completed', as a mere event' – using the term 'completed' for referring to the 'completion' *both* of the action referred to and of the discourse segment the verb form is part of.

As I have tried to show above, it is the other way around: if we take it that, by using PS an author invites the reader to read the statement at hand as part of a larger (sometimes even a much larger) unit of discourse, this applies not only to those (durative) actions that lend themselves for constituting 'a framework within which other actions may occur', but also to the (smaller number of) instances where we find punctual actions referred to by PS, as in [39] and [42].[108] This would seem preferable to making 'completed' into a term *à double usage*[109] – using it for referring to phenomena of time relationship and, if this doesn't seem to apply, switching to phenomena of discourse structure,[110] or still further stretching one's terminology, and pleading that, in

> ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη *ὑπομνήσασα* ταῦτα *ἔσχε* βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι (VII.171²)

'the action of the participle is *logically prior* to that of the main verb, not *temporally*.' (my italics).[111]

A much more refined and sophisticated version of the theory that considers encoding time relationship to be the primary function of the contrast of AS and PS has been advocated by Ruijgh. From a methodological point of view, the main objections to his theory, in my judgement, are the following:

– By taking a *moment donné* as the speaker's point of reference for choosing AS or PS he creates an opportunity not only for accommodating various contextual situations but also for determining a point of reference in those cases where neither the context nor the communicative situation do provide one – thereby at the same time stretching his concept of a *moment donné*:[112] assuming that a speaker

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action, signals that other actions may be expected to be mentioned that are simultaneous with the action referred to by the imperfect.'

[108] Cf. Sicking 1991, 23 and, in the present context, instances [39] and [42].

[109] If one would substitute 'terminated' (or the German 'konfektiv') for 'completed', this would be much more difficult.

[110] I am the more conscious of this for having to confess that, in Sicking 1971, I myself have made the same mistake.

[111] Rijksbaron 1979, 248.

[112] Cf. Ruijgh 1985, 30: 'En disant γράψον, (...) le locuteur prie l'interlocuteur d'écrire en signalant qu'il ne spécifie pas le moment futur du commencement de

who uses, for instance, an AS imperative does so because he is *thinking of* a future moment at which the desired action will be completed boils down to conjuring out of the hat a rabbit we have put there ourselves, and thus immunizing the theory advocated against any attempt at falsification – the verb form to be explained *itself* being our sole evidence for what is going on in the mind of the speaker.

– In order to show that in each and every case where we find PS an action is continuing ('en cours') at a 'moment donné' Ruijgh has to bring to a common denominator a variety of different time relationships: one has to consider an action to be 'en cours' at the moment another action occurs whenever the two have at least *one* moment in common – the limiting case ('cas limite') being when the former is broken off by the occurrence of the latter so as to leave no observable time gap between the one and the other. This implies that, in order to use AS and PS in a correct way, the Greek speaker had to be an expert in picking the right choice from a complex variety of possible time relationships between the action to be mentioned and a moment in time (either 'given' or thought of) fit to be the reference point in this particular context.

This is the more implausible since it is hard to see what communicative purposes would be served by a grammatical category that is as difficult to master as it is, from a viewpoint of content, superfluous. It would, for instance, appear to be rather preposterous when, in [7], the speaker's choice of PS would be inspired by his wish either to describe the Persians, at the moment of being killed by the Macedonians, as still pawing (or only beginning to do so) the 'women', or to leave no observable time gap between their doing so and their being stabbed – leaving it to the audience to see for themselves whether the one or the other is the case.[113]

It would seem, then, that Ruijgh's analysis of precisely those types of usage where the more crude forms of the 'χρόνος'-hypothesis so far have failed to explain the facts of Greek, has resulted in sharply defining the limits of its explanatory power. Precisely this kind of

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l'action et qu'il espère constater à un moment postérieur que l'action a été achevée (...). Le M[oment] D[onné] est donc un moment postérieur *sans spécification ultérieure.*' (my italics).

[113] Ruijgh is, of course, right in reminding us of the fact that, to the ancient grammarians, the difference between AS and PS was a difference qua χρόνος. This, however, does not seem to be a reason – let alone a decisive one – for supposing that a description that does not take considerations of time reference as its point of departure must be wrong. It suffices to point to the fact that their being well-informed native speakers of Russian has not prevented Russian linguists from disagreeing on the semantics of 'aspect', or *vid*, in Russian.

situation – where an increase of complexity does no longer result in an increase of accuracy – can be seen as a 'breakdown of the normal technical problem-solving activity'[114] – which makes one inclined to see whether we are, perhaps, to 'change the rules of the game'.

3.3. *PS and 'point of view'*

3.3.1. *Subclauses*

The above analysis of a number of instances has shown that preposed PS subclauses may have a number of different functions: setting the scene for events about be mentioned, introducing an embedded story, providing a frame of reference for what is to follow &c. All these different contexts have in common that PS signals to the reader that he is not supposed just to pick up and store the information he is offered as such, but to connect it with (and to turn it to use for his understanding of) what comes next.

In some types of context, however, there seems to be more to it than this. In

> [25] ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καί τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς *ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηῦς ἡλίσκετο* ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε μαχόμενος ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας

the subclause sets the scene for the description of Pytheas' heroic behaviour. On closer analysis of Herodotus' way of presenting the story, one observes that, before bringing in the subclause, he explicitly has made Pytheas into the topic of what is to follow. By thus bringing the *integrated unit* of subclause and main clause under the scope of ὅς, he makes the reader see, as it were, the content of the subclause (regardless of what or whom it is about) through the eyes of the *dramatis persona*. In order to bring this out, one should, perhaps, paraphrase *when he saw that his ship was about to be taken* ..., rather than *when the ship was about to be taken* ...

Other cases in point are: [7], [26] (*when he realized that the god would not allow this*), [34] (*when he saw that he failed to achieve his object by cunning*) and [58] (ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο). In:

> [28] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ *οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό* σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεχριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυχος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων·

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[114] Quoted from Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago ²1970, 69.

the Ionians are in the role of discourse topic at the moment the subclause starts, and Leotychides, of course, is only one of them; yet the passage seems to meet the description, as can be brought out by paraphrasing: *when they came near the Persian camp and* s a w t h a t *no enemy vessel was coming out to meet them* (...).

If these observations are correct, preposed PS subclauses, apart from preparing the reader's *understanding* of the main clause, at the same time can be used for directing his *perspective*, or point of view,[115] by making the *dramatis persona* the 'focalizer' of the events mentioned in the subclause. It will be noted that this is not a characteristic of preposed PS clauses *as such*, but a result, or side effect, of

1. the topic of the subclause having been established before a subclause about a different topic comes in, and
2. PS making the subclause and the main clause into one integrated unit of information, thus bringing the *combination* of the two under the 'scope' of the topic involved.

Cases like

> [11] ὡς δὲ *παρεξήιε* ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο

or

> [23] τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ *ἐπέπλεον* οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας

do not meet the description – the topic of the main clause being (re)introduced only when the subclause is over.

In [10], the reader can hardly be invited to share the point of view of the topic, since the subclause is about a statue. In [41], ἐπείτε (...) ἐγίνετο serves to introduce the story about Cyrus' punishing the river Gyndes. It is taken up by [41a]: ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο.

When both the subclause and the main clause refer to the same topic, it is only natural that the point of view will be that of the referent of the topic throughout, as in

> [8] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, *ἐπειδὴ ὥρα* ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον·

Other cases in point are [27], [39], [42], [47] and [51]. [46] also belongs to this category, but is exceptional in that Amasis' point of view is explicitly maintained by means of an inserted absolute genitive, so as to prevent the subject switch to result in a change of perspective. A case such as

> [9] οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὡς *ἐβάλλοντο* τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον.

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[115] Cf. the quotation from E.J. Bakker in note 98.

only differs from these in that, in the subclause, the topic is assigned the *semantic* role of Patient, while, in the main clause, he is the Agent. A similar instance is

[30] Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ... *ὡς ἠναγκάζετο* κτλ.

Artabanus, on his part, when he saw that there was no escape (...).

As to *postposed* subclauses, there seems to be a difference between those introduced by ἐπεί and those introduced by ὡς. If we disregard [61] – which has been seen to be a special case – in all instances with ἐπεί(τε) and ἐπειδή discussed in Section 2.2., PS apparently maintains the perspective of the *dramatis persona*. In [62] and [63], the effect of the subclause being connected with the preceding context is that Herodotus is not to be held responsible for the content of the subclause. In [64] and [65], the reader is made to perceive the background information as part of the relevant 'environment' of the *dramatis personae*. In [66], *ὡς* ἐπεδέχοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας merely provides the frame of reference for Themistocles' making Sicinnus a Thespian citizen.

3.3.2. *Participles*

The explanation for the difference between ἐλπίσας and ἐλπίζων that has been discussed in Section 2.6. appears to be, so to speak, the reverse of what I believe to be the case with preposed subclauses. With the latter, by *connecting* two clauses and thus bringing them under the scope of one and the same topic, PS at the same time makes the reader see the content of the subclause through a *dramatis persona*'s rather than through the narrator's eyes. Conjunct participles, however, that share the case of the subject of their main verb by definition refer to the same topic as the main verb does. Consequently, the effect of using an AS participle is that it, precisely by being presented as a separate unit of information, is, so to speak, disconnected, or *dissociated*, from the main verb: from a viewpoint of information, it is equivalent to an independent aorist clause. So in

[13] οὗτος ὡνὴρ *πυθόμενος* τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορήν, *ἐλθών*, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε

by means of πυθόμενος, ἐλθών, and συνεβούλευε, Herodotus informs the reader about three separate events concerning the same topic: Demaratus heard about the dispute, went to Xerxes and presented his advice to him. Πυνθανόμενος, however, would have conveyed that hearing about the dispute motivated Demaratus' approaching Cyrus. In

[105] ταῦτα πάντα *πυνθανόμενος* ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας κτλ. (I.69[1])

and

[106] Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὀροίτεα τείσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικήματων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἰθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν, ἅτε οἰδέοντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν *πυνθανόμενος* ἔχειν (III.127[1]),[116]

however, – regardless of whether the participle is preposed or postposed – the reader is invited to share Darius' and Croesus' perspective.

Notably when the participle refers to the feelings, expectations, beliefs &c. of the topic, the use of AS will result in these being presented from the narrator's perspective.[117]

It is instructive to compare, for instance,

[107] οὗτος δὴ ὤν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα *νομίζων*, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. (I.8[1])

to

[108] ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ *νομίσας* εἶναί σφεα πέδας εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῖσί εἰσι ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. (III.22[2]).[118]

In the former passage, it is Candaules' belief that motivates his making Gyges listen to eulogies of his wife's beauty. In the latter, νομίσας is coordinated with γελάσας, and conveys the narrator's explanation of what the king is about to say. It is, so to speak, equivalent to a footnote: *you must know that he believed them to be fetters.*[119]

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[116] In most instances of πυνθανόμενος, Herodotus himself is the topic.

[117] Once again, time relationship does not come in: both in [13] and in [106], the dramatis persona, apparently, has got the information involved before proceeding to act.

[118] These two instances would suffice to falsify the belief that the alternation of AS and PS has something to do with differences qua time relationship: both Candaules and the Persian king, of course, must be supposed to have stuck to their convictions also after they started acting accordingly. Translating νομίσας by 'started to believe' would come dangerously close to special pleading.

[119] It is to be noted that νομίζων is used when Herodotus is speaking about his own beliefs, as in I1.3.[2] (νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἶσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι).

4. A BASIC VALUE FOR *AS* VERSUS *PS*

In Sicking 1991, I limited myself mainly to the usage of AS and PS in a few types of context, and promised to come back to ('temporal') dependent clauses and participles, so as to see whether we have to reckon with the speaker's intention to express a temporal relationship between actions, as a separate, or even the main criterium that guides the choice of the one or the other verb form. Now that I have done so, it is, perhaps, justified not to leave it at testing my earlier conclusions against the above observations, but to venture one further step and to make an attempt at defining a unifying factor that will account for the variety of criteria found to be operative, and, therefore, may be supposed to underlie all relevant instances.

4.1. *'Focus function'*

The maximum generalization that can be made about the contribution of the contrast AS versus PS to subordinate clauses in Herodotus' narrative, apparently is that PS signals to the reader that he is to consider the clause in question to be part of a larger unit of information, whereas AS indicates that he is to assign to the information it contains a (narrative) relevance of its own.

An attempt to discover a basic value that will explain the 'distribution' of PS and AS both in the subordinate clauses dealt with so far and in other construction types may well depart from the observation that, in a number of cases, the use of PS appears to be inspired by the so-called pragmatic function of the verb form in question. In Sicking 1991, in order to exemplify this possibility, I quoted (p. 27), among a number of instances,

> [109] Μαρδόνιος δὲ (...) μετὰ ταῦτα *ἔπεμψε* ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσχηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν (Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι) ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος *ἔπεμπε* (VIII.136¹).[120]

[120] A comparable instance is III.48²: ἀπέπεμψε, 49²: ἀπέπεμπε, the former informing the reader *that* Periander sent the boys to Sardis, the latter restating the fact as a stepping stone for reporting Periander's reason for doing so.

I observed that, when paraphrasing the passage in English, there seems to be nothing against replacing ἔπεμπε by a (semantically 'empty') anaphoric expression: *Mardonius sent Alexander as a messenger; both because* (...) *and because it had come to his ear* (...) *did Mardonius d o s o.*

The reason for this, apparently, is that ἔπεμπε differs from ἔπεμψε in that the former is to be assigned 'focus function',[121] whereas the presence of the latter is due to considerations of syntax[122] rather than to any new information being conveyed by it: having decided to secure topic continuity by repeating the name of Mardonius after ἅμα δέ, Herodotus had to add a verb form to go with it.

To take an example from English: when asking a question of the type

Where did you buy this book?

I will, from a viewpoint of information, be perfectly content with:

In the local bookshop

whereas

I bought this book in the local bookshop

will impress me as slightly disobliging or pedantic, or inspired by some other consideration, for instance, because my interlocutor wants to gain time. However this may be, in the answering sentence, the words *I bought this book* do not have focus function in the sense of presenting information that bears upon the difference in information between the speaker and his interlocutor.

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[121] I am, of course, well aware that the term 'focus function' is used by linguists in a number of different ways. This being not the right place to discuss the matter in any detail, I will, without further ado, use the term 'focus function' for the part of the unit involved that, from a viewpoint of information, is the most prominent in the sense of being its 'nucleus', or the part 'to which the speaker especially draws the hearer's attention.' Furthermore, I will not assume (as some linguists do) that the distinctions between 'topic' (in the sense of: the constituent(s) that tell(s) the hearer 'what the speaker's utterance is about') and 'focus', and between 'given' and 'new' information, in every respect, cover the same ground. On the notion of 'topic' see Bakker 1991, 231-2 and the literature cited there.

[122] It is to be noted that, in Ancient Greek, instances like μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις μὲν *ἔδωκε* Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κῦρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ (ø) δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικήν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι διαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἤν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.27) are relatively rare. If Xenophon had wanted to provide the sentence about Cyrus with a verb form too, he presumably would have written ἐδίδου. Cf. Homer, H 303 ff.: ὣς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον (...) Αἴας δὲ ζωστῆρα *δίδου* φοίνικι φαεινόν.

Applying the concept of focus function to the problem at hand, one may, perhaps, rewrite the first sentence of this Section as follows: in subordinate clauses, by using AS a speaker indicates that focus function is to be assigned to the clause as such, whereas by using PS he signals that its content derives the relevance it has from what is conveyed by some other part of the surrounding context.

This amounts to applying the concept of 'focus function' – often used to refer to the function of a constituent as compared to other constituents *within* the same clause – to the function of a subordinate clause as compared to the main clause of the sentence it is part of, or to some other unit of information in the context.[123]

It may be relevant to remember that, in spoken English,[124]

1. the focal point of a unit can be indicated by giving it 'nuclear stress'. One may compare the instances I have given above (p. 6):

Brendel had decided not to play the Bràhms concerto (but the Schumann)

and

Brendel had decided not to plày the Brahms concerto (but to rush through it)

and observe that by shifting the nucleus one may even alter the truth conditions of two utterances that, in all other respects, are perfectly alike: in the latter instance the audience got a bad performance of Brahms' music, in the former they got no Brahms at all. I would assume that, in Greek, exactly the same interpretation would result from using PS for *to play* in the former (where it is part of the topic *what did Brendel play yesterday?*), whereas an AS infinitive would be appropriate in the latter sentence (where *to play* is meant to be the nucleus).

2. the intonation of a clause can make clear that it, so to speak has no nucleus at all, as in

Okay, he sold cars, but did he sèll any?[125]

where the speaker is only recapitulating what has been said earlier on, in order to create the frame of reference for his question.

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[123] Cf. Bakker 1991, 231, who analyzes the difference between preposed and post-posed adverbial clauses in terms of a difference qua informational status: 'in this approach the function and placement of adverbial clauses could be seen as part of the sentential phenomenon of topic-focus articulation and the distribution of old and new information in the sentence.'

[124] Cf., for instance, G. Leech & Jan Svartvik, *A Communicative Grammar of English.* 193 ff.

[125] Or: devices, if one allows for certain phenomena of word order affecting the prominence of constituents.

In Greek, a similar result is obtained by using PS in the introductory, and AS in the concluding clause. In written English, one would, of course, often have to be more explicit (*did he actually sell any?* or *did he manage to sell any?*) whereas, in written Greek, this type of additions would seem to be superfluous – the same job being done by a device that does not belong to the prosodic level, and therefore is applicable both in spoken and in written language. Accordingly, it would be difficult to imagine a Greek equivalent for expressions such as *did he actually manage to do so?* Without going into the matter, I would suggest that the relative infrequency of the particle γε – in many respects being the equivalent of a focus particle – with past verb forms may point in the same direction.

This is, of course, not to deny that PS subordinate clauses can, and often do serve the purpose of informing the reader of something. The point is that any information they convey is supplied for the sake of – and owes its relevance to – more crucial information that (normally) is provided by the main clause. Consequently, PS subordinate clauses are not to be read as self-contained statements:[126] they are, so to speak, not to be stored in the reader's (or the hearer's) 'data base' as chunks of information in their own right, but are to be appreciated as being part of a larger unit.

4.2. *'Focus function' and syntactic 'level'*

In order to determine more precisely how the concept of *focus function* may provide the key to the description of the semantic contrast between AS and PS, it is useful to distinguish between

a. the information function of the *verb form* as such within the clause or sentence it is part of, and

b. the information function of the main or the subordinate *clause* involved (in which the verb form is the predicate) within its context.

[126] In his monograph on the Greek Imperative, W.F. Bakker has suggested that Seiler's description of AS vs. PS in Modern Greek can be applied to Ancient Greek also. Seiler's central assumption is that the Imperfect 'établit toujours une référence à un autre énoncé verbal, de sorte que les deux se situent l'un à l'égard de l'autre.' To quote one of Bakker's (p. 23) instances from modern Greek: 'δὲ νύσταξε ('he has not felt sleepy') is a complete utterance. The Imperfect δὲ νύσταζε, however, is not; it makes sense only in an expression such as δὲ νύσταζε, καὶ δὲν πλάγιασε ('he was not sleepy, and, therefore, did not go to bed').' 'So, if an imperfect is standing all by itself, it is an incomplete utterance.' 'The imperfect requires a statement about some other occurrence, with which it can be connected.' It will be clear that, although there is a world of difference between Bakker's beliefs and mine, I would consider this to be at least part of the truth.

As to the latter possibility, the above discussion of the 'distribution' of PS and AS in subordinate clauses, both subclauses and participles, hopefully, has made explicit enough my assumptions as to the different functions of PS and AS predications in their surrounding context. The way these functions work out in larger stretches of narrative will be discussed in Section 5.

4.2.1. *Focus function of clause constituents and AS vs. PS*

The way the focus function of a verb form *within* a clause affects the alternation of PS and AS can be exemplified by citing a couple of instances from Sicking 1991:

[110] οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ *ἐγὼ* οὐκ *ἐναυμάχουν*; (Ar. *Ran.* 33)

Wretched me! Why didn't *I* take part in the sea-fight?

[111] ποῖ γῆς ἀπεδήμεις; – *ἐπεβάτευον* Κλεισθένει.
– *κἀναυμάχησας*; (ib. 48-9)

And did you actually *fight a battle*?

The background to Xanthias' question in [110] in its context is that other slaves by taking part in the sea-fight have attained their freedom. What Xanthias conveys with his question is his regretful conscience of the fact that, had *he* done so too, he would not now be forced to toil and slave as he does. Focus function, therefore, is to be assigned to ἐγὼ οὐκ, the topic being the consequences of (not) having taken part in the naval battle. In [111], Clisthenes is a most unlikely sea captain, but he is to provide the opportunity for the joke that is implied by Heracles' seemingly innocent question – which makes Κλεισθένει an obvious candidate for the focus function. Heracles' question is a question of fact, playing with the sexual overtones of ἐπιβατεύειν: *when 'on board with'* (or: 'boarding') *Clisthenes, did you actually join battle* (or: '*have a good romp*')?

In

[112] ταῦτα πάντα *ἐλάλησεν* ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῖς ὄχλοις· καὶ χωρὶς παραβολῆς οὐδὲν *ἐλάλει* αὐτοῖς (Matth. 13.34)

ἐλάλησεν has focus function, whereas, in the second clause, focus function is to be assigned to χωρὶς παραβολῆς οὐδέν.[127]

[127] Another case in point is provided by the so-called 'Künstlerinschriften', ἐποίησεν ὁ δεῖνα differing from ἐποίει ὁ δεῖνα in that the latter focusses on the artist, the former on his having manufactured the object. In ἀρχιτέκτων Ἀμύντης *ἐπεσκεύαζεν*, ὅσα δὲ ἐνελείφθη καὶ τότε μὴ ἐπετελέσθη, ὕστερον Εὐφράνωρ ἀρχιτέκτων *ἐπεσκεύασεν*. (IG^2 II/III 1612, 206 ff.) one may explain the alternation either by observing that the first sentence is only part of what is to be communicated, or by

As I have explained in 1991 (154 ff.) this possibility is especially relevant in the case of the Imperative, the great majority of Imperatives constituting a clause of their own. Instances of an Imperative that owes its relevance to an utterance outside its own clause are relatively rare. Cases in point are, for instance,

[113] νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, *ἀπικνέο* μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι. (V.24[2])

and

[114] ἀλλά μοι ἀμφίπολοι λύχνον ἅψατε
κάλπισι τ' ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρατε, *θέρμετε* δ' ὕδωρ
ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω (Ar. *Ran.* 1338-40),

where a PS imperative is followed by a final clause which conveys why it is that the speaker wants his interlocutor to act in a certain way.

4.2.2. *Aspect choice and reference*

In my Preface, I have, without further arguing, stated that the contrast between AS and PS is not to be described in terms of 'reference', or of 'meaning' in the truth-functional sense. Now that I have argued my belief that the Greek speaker's choice between the two is primarily affected by the informative (or: 'pragmatic') function he wants to assign to the verb form in question, it remains to account for those cases where substituting AS for PS would actually alter the factual information that is communicated. As far as I can see, this is to be explained as a side-effect of the basic value of PS.

4.2.2.1. *The 'Imperfect of endeavor'*

'Imperfect of endeavor' is the term used by Gildersleeve in his invaluable *Syntax of Classical Greek* (p. 93) for the Imperfect when it is 'used of attempted and interrupted, of intended and expected actions'. I will limit my discussion of these uses to just a few examples, so as to show how they fit in with my general description.[128] In

[115] ἐλθοῦσα δ' Αὐλίδ' ἡ τάλαιν' ὑπὲρ πυρᾶς
μετάρσια ληφθεῖσ' *ἐκαινόμην* ξίφει·
ἀλλ' ἐξέκλεψεν ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου
Ἄρτεμις Ἀχαιοῖς, (...). (Eur. *IT* 26-9)

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taking it that, in the first clause, focus function is to be assigned to the name of the main architect, Amyntas, whereas the second clause states the fact that a certain Euphranor (who was an architect too) completed what Amyntas had left undone. The inscription is quoted by Schwyzer-Debrunner (276), who render ἐπεσκεύαζεν by 'war mit der Herstellung beschäftigt', ἐπεσκεύασεν by 'hat hergestellt'.

[128] For further discussion see Sicking 1991, 20 ff.

Iphigenia is referring to the moment *she was about to be* killed as a sacrifice to Artemis. In such cases AS, normally,[129] would be misleading, or at least surprising: it would signal to the hearer that he is to take the predication as it is, without, that is to say, having recourse to what is to follow – which, *ceteris paribus* – would suggest that the speaker is actually dead, or speaking just nonsense. As it is, however, PS signals that he is, so to speak, to suspend his judgment until he has got the following context, which, in this case, tells him (what is, of course, the point of the speaker) that Iphigenia's being killed was prevented by the intervention of Artemis. The same mechanism can be seen to operate, and to result in a slightly different interpretation, in

[116] ὁ μὲν τὸν δῆμον *καθίστη* κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἠξίουν (Is. 10.36, quoted by Gildersleeve)

He was willing (*or*: prepared) to make the people master of the state, but they only wanted him to lead them.

Here, writing κατέστησε would have been positively misleading.[130] To offer one more example, where more context is involved:

[117] ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος (...) ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν *ὠνέετο*. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὁρῶν τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τύχῃ χρώμενος λέγει· ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴπερ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι. (Hdt. III.139²⁻³)

Darius wanted to buy the cloak, but Syloson said that he refused to sell it, but was prepared to give it him as a present, seeing that he wanted very much to have it.

More often, we find instances of what even those with 'little Greek' know as the 'conative' Imperfect, such as:

[118] *ἀνέπειθεν* αὐτὸν μὴ φορεῖν τριβώνιον
μηδ' ἐξιέναι θύραζ', ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο.[131] (Ar. *Vesp.* 116-7)

He tried to persuade him (...), but he refused.

In all these cases, substituting AS for PS would make the reader take the predication as a self-contained statement of fact, whereas PS invites him just to relate the meaning of the verb to the person in-

[129] There are, of course, instances where a speaker expresses himself in AS, because he intends to convey that having the intention to kill someone is tantamount to actually killing him. Cf. for instance, Eur. *Ion* 1497: ἐν φόβῳ, τέκνον, καταδεθεῖσα σὰν ἀπέβαλον ψυχάν· *ἔκτεινα* σ' ἄκουσα.

[130] ἄρχειν is, of course, PS, since the discussion regards the question of 'who is to lead the δῆμος?'

[131] οὐκ ἐπείθετο is the first item in a series of three Imperfect verb forms – οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἐκορυβάντιαζε, ἐδίκαζεν – that is concluded by a final Aorist: διέπλευσεν.

volved, and to allow for the possibility that the punctual action referred to, eventually, will turn out not to take place, or the terminative action not to attain its goal. So we have to do with an *interpretation* which is reached with the help of data derived from the context and is not, therefore, inherent in any value of PS as such.

It is to be noted that these interpretations are bound up with the characteristics (the *actio*) of the actions in question. Only with terminative actions (such as πείθω) the AS indicative invariably implies that the action has reached its goal, whereas PS may (but need not) point the way to an interpretation in which this is not so. With punctual actions (such as ἀποθνήσκω, ἀφικνέομαι) AS invariably implies that the action referred to has actually been accomplished, while PS may, but does not have to, refer to an action which was on the verge of taking place, or which the agent intended to perform, but did not actually accomplish. There is, however, no possibility that, let us say, ἐβασίλευεν – referring to a durative action – could ever result in an interpretation **he wanted to be king*, or **he was about to be king*.

4.2.2.2. *'Ingressive' Aorist?*

With verbs that refer to durative actions, there are two ways of using them in a self-contained statement. In

[119] Ψαμμήτιχος *ἐβασίλευσε* Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἑνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα Ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος *ἐπολιόρκεε*, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλε. (II.157)

Herodotus informs the reader about the duration of Psammetichus' reign over Egypt. ἐπολιόρκεε refers to a terminative action, which is reported to have been going on for twenty-nine years before finally reaching its goal.

The other possibility is commonly known as the 'ingressive Aorist', and can be exemplified by

[120] καὶ τότε δὴ *θάρσησε* καὶ ηὔδα μάντις ἀμύμων (A 92),

from that moment onwards (*now that Achilles has sworn that he will protect him*), Calchas had the courage to speak out.

The Aorist characterizes the clause as a self-contained statement: the referent of θάρσησε being a durative action, this, together with the presence of τότε δή, makes it clear that the action subsisted *from* the moment referred to by τότε onwards. So it is not the 'ingressiveness' of the action that makes the speaker opt for AS rather than for PS: it is the going together of *a time-adjunct specifying a moment in time* with a *durative* action that makes one conclude that the speaker wants

to state that the situation subsisted from a certain moment onwards. It is instructive to compare

> [121] αἰσθόμενος τὸ πραχθὲν *ὑπετοπούμην* εὐθέως ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ὑγιεῖ κατειλέχθαι (Lys. IX.4),

and

> [122] ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι παιδίον γίγνεται, *ἐπίστευον* ἤδη καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκείνῃ παρέδωκα (Lys. I.6);

as can be gathered from εὐθέως and ἤδη, the durative actions ὑπετοπούμην and ἐπίστευον must be supposed to have started (rather than to have been going on) at the moment provided by the context.

5. LARGER STRETCHES OF NARRATIVE

The way my description works out for the choice of AS and PS for different categories of verb forms in continuous narrative can best be illustrated by analysing the way they are used in longer stretches of narrative. I will give three instances, one of them taken from Thucydides.

5.1. *Periander and Lycophron*

I will first analyse the different functions of the relevant verb forms, and then print the Greek text once more, in such a way that these are brought out, and, only then, offer a complete paraphrase.

50 ἐπείτε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυίῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς.

2 τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης, ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος, μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπείτε δέ σφεας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς·

3 "Ἆρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;" τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἅτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔ τι προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δέ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51 ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον ἱστόρεε τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δέ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλέης ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἅτε οὐ νόῳ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὔ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεέ τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο.

2 Περίανδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μή μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι·

3 ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος. Ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἤιε ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δὲ ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα παῖδα, καίπερ δειμαίνοντες, ὅμως ἐδέκοντο.

52 τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἢ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δὴ εἴπας.

2 πρὸς ὦν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι

δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοιῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο.
3 τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδών μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίῃσί τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτιρε· ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἤιε ἆσσον καὶ ἔλεγε· "Ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἱρετώτερά ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν;
4 ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἵλεο, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σὲ ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. Εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἐγγέγονε, ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλέον μέτοχός εἰμι, ὅσῳ αὐτός σφεα ἐξεργασάμην.
5 σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία."
6 Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δέ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν·
7 ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης. Ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα, ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἷλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, εἷλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε.
53 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὅ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων <νόον> οὐκ ἐνώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος.
2 ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίεω δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι.
3 ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης· Ὦ παῖ, βούλεαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτός σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν.
4 φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν· μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι. πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς· μὴ δῷς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι."
5 ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἥξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τὸν πατέρα.
6 ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἥκειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος.
7 καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς [οἱ] ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. Μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μή σφι Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος ἐτιμωρέετο. (III.50-53)

5.1.1. *'Historical Present'*

The first thing to be noted is that, when one concentrates on the finite verbs in main clauses, there are five instances of the so-called Historical Present. The primary purpose of the story in its context being to explain what reason Periander had for taking revenge on the Corcyreans, they give us what may be considered the 'hard core' of the narrative *in so far as it is relevant for the relationship between Periander and Corcyra*:

> Periander turned his son, Lycophron, out of his house (50^{3}: ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων). Lycophron proved unwilling to bring about a reconciliation (52^{6}: ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα). Periander sent him off to Corcyra (52^{6}: ὁ Περίανδρος ἀποπέμπεται [sc. μιν] ἐς Κέρκυραν). Periander sent a messenger to Corcyra, proposing a change of residence (53^{6}: Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει), and the Corcyreans killed his son (53^{7}: οἱ Κερκυραῖοι κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον).

5.1.2. *Aorist main verbs*

When we add to this 'bare skeleton' the information presented by the main clauses that feature a finite verb in AS we get what may be considered the main framework of the complete story: the essential moves and countermoves of the *dramatis personae*. If Herodotus had left it at that, we would still be able to follow the crucial phases of the development of the relation between Periander and his son, and to comprehend its sad conclusion.

> Procles intimated (50^{2}: εἶπε) to Periander's sons that their father had murdered their mother. The elder son took no notice of this (50^{3}: ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο), Lycophron, however, was disturbed by it (50^{3}: ἤλγησε): he refused any further contact with his father (50^{3}: τὸν πατέρα οὐ προσεῖπε), and his father turned him out of the house (50^{3}: ἐξελαύνει).
>
> The elder son told his father what Procles said (51^{1}: εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο). Periander forbade his subjects to keep Lycophron in their house (52^{1}: κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο). After three days Periander felt sorry for him (52^{3}: οἴκτιρε), but Lycophron proved irreconcilable (οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται), and Periander sent him off to Corcyra (52^{6}: ἀποπέμπεται).
>
> Periander captured Epidaurus (52^{7}: εἷλε) and took Procles prisoner (52^{7}: εἷλε, ἐζώγρησε).
>
> After some time Lycophron, once again, turned down an attempt at reconciliation (53^{2}: οὐδὲ ἀναχρίσιος ἠξίωσε). Periander sent his daughter (53^{2}: δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε). He then made his final proposition (53^{6}: τὸ τρίτον ... πέμπει), and[132] the Corcyreans killed Lycophron (53^{7}: κτείνουσι).

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[132] As to the connection between Periander's final proposition and the reaction of the Corcyreans, cf. my observations on καταινέσαντος (...) τοῦ παιδός in Section 5.1.4.

5.1.3. *Imperfect main verbs*

When one collects the PS indicative verbs in main clauses, there seem to be two categories:

– Some PS indicatives move forward narrative time.[133] The information conveyed by these indicatives does not seem to belong to the main framework of the narrative: they characteristically provide introductory or otherwise subsidiary material that owes its relevance to what is meant to be the main point of the thematic paragraph they are part of.[134]

– The remaining PS indicatives do not move forward narrative time, but

a. provide background information that is no part of the narrative itself (50¹: ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ ταύτης, 53¹: ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ νόον οὐκ ἐνώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο νωθέστερος), or

b. elaborate on and/or further describe (or present from another point of view) something the reader has been told just before (50³: οὐ προσδιελέγετο, λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου, 51¹: ἐλιπάρεε, 52⁶: κατελάμβανε, ἔφη, 53⁵: ἔλεγε).

It is relevant to note that, from a viewpoint of reference, it would have been impossible to substitute and Aorist indicative for the Imperfect ἐστέλλετο (53⁷): referring to a terminative action, ἐστείλατο would have implied that Periander actually went to Corcyra, and Lycophron to Corinth – *quod non.*

5.1.4. *Preposed Aorist subordinate clauses*[135]

The preposed AS participles, typically, move forward narrative time. The only exceptions are ἐξελάσας (51¹) and ἀποστείλας (52⁷): they just restate (and are co-referential with) ἐξελαύνει and ἀποπέμπεται στείλας respectively, so as to remove a participant from the scene and to start a new paragraph.

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[133] I have included in this category those PS indicatives that seem compatible with something like 'and subsequently', 'then'.

[134] A special case is the description of Lycophron's situation after Periander's having forbidden his subjects to take him into their house. The passage as a whole is introductory to τέλος δὲ (...) ἐποιήσατο κήρυγμα. Both the AS subclause ὅκως ἔλθοι and the main verbs ἀπηλαύνετ' ἄν, ἤιε and ἐδέκοντο move forward time (ἔλθοι having been chosen because, with this type of subclause, ἴοι would have suggested that he did not actually arrive there); but, as we have an iterative construction, they all register time progression *within* the iterative situation that is being described. For 'iterativity' cf. note 17.

[135] For a general discussion of the function of preposed subclauses in narrative texts see Bakker 1991, 233 ff.

Most other AS participles tell the audience little or nothing they might not have inferred themselves. Their presence seems mainly due to Herodotus' concern with telling a smooth, clearly articulated story, so as to prevent that changes of topic, location, time &c. would interfere with the audience's awareness of the thematic continuity of the narrative.

Their contribution to the narrative seems to be of a rather 'technical' nature: signalling a change of location (50^2: μεταπεμψάμενος, 50^3: ἀπικόμενος, 53^1: πέμψας, 53^3: ἀπικομένης), removing a participant from the scene (51^1: ἐξελάσας, 52^7: ἀποστείλας) and/or facilitating a topic-switch (51^1: ἀναμνησθείς, 52^3: ἰδών, 53^6: ἀπαγγειλάσης). Νόῳ λαβών (51^2) and μαθών ($52^6$0 can be seen as dramatically effective variants for the more usual ἀκούσας ταῦτα, and ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς adds more relief to Periander's change of mood than a simple οἰκτίρας would have done. Moreover, some of them (for instance 52^3: ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς) contribute to reducing the length of information units, so as not to exceed the audience's span of attention.

Only καταινέσαντος ... τοῦ παιδός (53^7) seems to deviate from the norm: it differs from most participles in that the information it conveys is far from predictable or redundant. When we bear in mind that, in this type of story, the third attempt (τὸ τρίτον) will be the crucial one, the audience will have looked forward to the dénouement. It could have turned out either way, and the young man's finally and, perhaps, unexpectedly, giving up his resistance is crucial to the story. Moreover, the absolute genitive is Herodotus' 'default' way of starting a new paragraph while at the same time dismissing (for the moment) a *dramatis persona* (cf. 53^6: ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης). This time, however, ὁ παῖς, so to speak, stays on the scene,[136] but only in order to be prevented from performing his part of the settlement by being killed.[137] So καταινέσαντος, perhaps, must be considered to belong to the main line of the story as it is constituted by the Aorist indicatives: precisely by deviating from what is his normal practice, Herodotus draws his audience's attention to Lycophron's this time complying

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[136] This is, of course, contrary to what is generally considered to be a prescription of Greek grammar: 'when a circumstantial participle belongs to a substantive which is not grammatically connected with the main construction of the sentence, both the substantive and the participle generally stand in the genitive' (Goodwin, 337). It seems, however, preferable to trace the 'rule' back to the normal discourse function of the construction, rather than to describe a case like this as a deviation from a grammarians' rule.

[137] Apart from the fact that καταινέσαντος ... τοῦ παιδός is an absolute genitive, the impact of καταινέσαντος δέ may be compared to that of ἀνασπάσας δέ in [39] above.

with his father's wish, and even makes them consider for a moment the possibility of a happy end.

It is to be noted that μαθόντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι also differs from Herodotus' normal practice in that it suddenly and unexpectedly introduces the Corcyreans as a participant in the story.[138] We are informed about their objective (ἵνα μή σφι περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται) before being told about their final ruthless action – which is the dramatic conclusion, and at the same time provides the answer to the question that was the *raison d' être* of the story: 'what reason had Periander for desiring vengeance upon the Corycreans?'.

Together, these observations make clear what are Herodotus' means for manipulating the pace and suspense of his narrative in such a way that its poignant conclusion gets the maximum impact.

5.1.5. *The complete story*

I give the Historical Present verb forms in bold italics, the AS main verbs in bold type, the PS main verbs that move forward the narrative in italics; subordinate clauses in AS are underlined, and those PS main and subordinate clauses that do not seem to move forward the narrative are bracketed.

[123] (ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἑπταχαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς).
τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης, (ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος), μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν *ἐφιλοφρονέετο*, (ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας). ἐπείτε δέ σφεας *ἀπεπέμπετο*, **εἶπε** (προπέμπων αὐτούς)· (...)
τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν **ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο**· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, (τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων), **ἤλγησε** ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἅτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα **οὔτε προσεῖπε**, (διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔ τι προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου). τέλος δέ μιν (περιθύμως ἔχων) ὁ Περίανδρος ***ἐξελαύνει*** ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.
ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον *ἱστόρεε* τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δέ οἱ *ἀπηγέετο* ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, (ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλέης ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἅτε οὐ νόῳ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο). Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν *ἔφη* εἶναι μὴ οὔ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, *ἐλιπάρεέ* τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς **εἶπε** καὶ τοῦτο.
Περίανδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν (καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν), τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον *ἀπηγόρευε* μή μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι· ὁ δὲ ὅκως (ἀπελαυνόμενος) ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, *ἀπηλαύνετ'* ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, (ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ

[138] Even *οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι μαθόντες ταῦτα would have made the audience wonder what the Corcyreans have to do with it.

Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος). (ἀπελαυνόμενος) δ' ἂν *ἤιε* ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δὲ (ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα παῖδα), (καίπερ δειμαίνοντες), ὅμως *ἐδέκοντο*. τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος **κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο**, ὃς ἂν ἢ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δὴ εἴπας.

πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι *ἤθελε*· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος *ἐδικαίου* πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ (διακαρτερέων) ἐν τῇσι στοιῇσι *ἐκαλινδέετο*. τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ <u>ἰδών</u> μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίῃσί τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα **οἴκτιρε**·

<u>ὑπεὶς</u> δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς *ἤιε* ἆσσον καὶ *ἔλεγε*· (...). (Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε), ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν ***οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται*** τὸν πατέρα, (ἔφη δέ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον).

<u>μαθών</u> δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ***ἀποπέμπεται*** στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· (ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης).

<u>ἀποστείλας</u> δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος *ἐστρατεύετο* ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα, (ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον), καὶ **εἷλε** μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον, **εἷλε** δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ **ἐζώγρησε**.

ἐπεὶ δὲ (τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος) ὅ (τε) Περίανδρος (παρηβήκεε καὶ) *συνεγινώσκετο* ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, <u>πέμψας</u> ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν *ἀπεκάλεε* τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων <νόον> οὐκ ἐνώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος). ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων **οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε** τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην.

Περίανδρος δὲ (περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίεω) δεύτερα **ἀπέστειλε** ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, (δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι). <u>ἀπικομένης</u> δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης· (...). (ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν)· ὁ δὲ (ὑποκρινόμενος) *ἔφη* οὐδαμὰ ἥξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τὸν πατέρα.

<u>ἀπαγγειλάσης</u> δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα ***πέμπει*** (βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἥκειν), ἐκεῖνον δὲ *ἐκέλευε* ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος.

<u>**καταινέσαντος**</u>[139] δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδὸς ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος *ἐστέλλετο* ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς [οἱ] ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον.

<u>Μαθόντες</u> δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μή σφι Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, ***κτείνουσι*** τὸν νεηνίσκον.

The following paraphrase brings out how I believe the story is to be read:

<u>Having sent</u> for Periander's sons, **Procles** (he was the tyrant of Epidaurus) *treated them kindly*, and, *when he was about to take leave of them*, **asked them** (he was accompanying them part of the way) **who had**

139 For the narrative function of this participle – the only one I have printed in bold type – cf. the last paragraph of Section 5.1.4.

murdered their mother. The elder son took no notice of this. Lycophron, however, **was disturbed** by it: on returning to Corinth, he **refused any further contact with his father** (he didn't talk to him and didn't answer his questions). Finally, ***his father*** (he was very angry) ***turned him out of the house.***

Having done so, *Periander questioned the elder son*, *who told him* that Procles had treated them kindly, (as to what Procles had said at parting, he had forgotten about it). *Periander said it could not be but that Procles had given them some advice*, and *persisted questioning*. **The elder son** remembered and **told his father what Procles said**. *Periander* took notice of this, and (not prepared to show any weakness) *forbade his subjects to keep Lycophron in their house*. As to *Lycophron*, he *went from one house to another. Periander threatened those who received him and bade them to keep him out*, and *his friends* (although they were afraid) *took him in*. Finally, **Periander made a proclamation threatening to punish anyone who gave the boy shelter**. As a result of this, *nobody was prepared to take Lycophron in*; *Lycophron himself did not think that he ought to break the prohibition* and (hardening his heart) *found what shelter he could*. After three days **Periander**, on seeing him, **felt sorry for him**. His anger softened, *he went to him and said*: (...). (Periander thus attempted to coax him), but ***Lycophron didn't answer him***: (he just told his father to abide with his own proclamation). **Periander** realised that the situation was incurable and **sent him off to Corcyra** (the island belonged to his territory).

Having done so **Periander** *made war against Procles*, **captured Epidaurus and took Procles prisoner.**

After some time *Periander* (he had become old) *saw that he was no longer equal to his tasks*, sent a messenger to Corcyra and *called his son back* to take over, but **Lycophron did not even answer Periander's messenger. Periander** (who was very anxious to be reconciled) then (δεύτερα) **sent his daughter** (believing that he would surely listen to her). On arriving in Corcyra, *she said*: (...) (she said this according to Periander's instructions). But *Lycophron said* that he would not return to Corinth during Periander's lifetime. The daughter informed Periander. ***Periander*** (τὸ τρίτον)***sent a messenger*** to Corcyra (being now prepared to take residence there himself) and *bade Lycophron to return to Corinth* in order to take over the government. Lycophron **agreed to this**, and, Periander being about to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to return to Corinth, ***the Corcyreans killed Lycophron.***

5.2. *Gyges and the wife of Candaules*

This time I will at once print the text in such a way that it becomes clear how I believe it should be analyzed.

[124] **8.** οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης **ἠράσθη** τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ *ἐνόμιζέ* οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ

(ταῦτα νομίζων), (ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα), τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων *ὑπερετίθετο* ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων.

(2) χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς), *ἔλεγε* πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε· (...) (3) ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας **εἶπε**· (...) **9.** (ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μή τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν). ὁ δὲ *ἀμείβετο* τοισίδε· (...) **10.** ὁ μὲν δὴ (ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν), *ἦν* ἕτοιμος.

ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, **ἤγαγε** τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα *παρῆν* καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἵματα *ἐθηεῖτο* ὁ Γύγης. (2) ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς *ἐχώρεε* ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ***ἐπορᾷ*** μιν ἐξιόντα.

μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς **οὔτε ἀνέβωσε** αἰσχυνθεῖσα **οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν**, (ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τείσασθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα). (3) (παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει).

11. τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην *εἶχε*. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετῶν (τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἑωυτῇ), ἑτοίμους ποιησαμένη *ἐκάλεε* τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ (οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι) **ἦλθε** (καλεόμενος)· (ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν).

(2) ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, *ἔλεγε* ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· (...) (3) ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν *ἀπεθώμαζε* τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ *ἱκέτευε* μή μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. (4) *οὐκ* ὦν δὴ *ἔπειθε*, (ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι).[140] ***αἱρέεται*** αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. *ἐπειρώτα* δὴ *λέγων* τάδε· (...)

(5) ἡ δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσα *ἔφη*· (...)

12. ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα) *εἵπετο* ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί. καί μιν ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα ***κατακρύπτει*** ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. (2) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν **ἔσχε** καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης, (...). (1.8–12)

5.2.1. *Historical Present*

As in the Lycophron story, the predications featuring a Historical Present present what can be seen as the hard core of the narrative in so far as it is relevant for what is its main purpose: to explain how the sovereignty of Lydia passed from Candaules, the last of the Heraclid dynasty, to the family of Croesus (1.7[1]): it was Candaules' wife, who,

[140] Both ἀπολλύναι and ἀπόλλυσθαι are PS: the issue is not whether someone is to die, but whether it will be Gyges or Candaules.

wanting to take revenge for having been insulted by her husband, provided Gyges with the opportunity to kill Candaules. So the crucial moves are those of Gyges, who is to be the new king, and the queen, who provides him with the opportunity to kill Candaules, and will become his wife:

> The queen noticed that Gyges had watched her when she was naked (ἐπορᾷ). Gyges decided to follow the course of action that would make him survive (αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι), and the queen provided him with the opportunity to kill Candaules by hiding him behind the door of his bedroom (καταχρύπτει).

5.2.2. *Aorist main verbs*

By adding the main AS predications we get what can be considered the full story:

> Candaules had a passion for his own wife (ἠράσθη). Gyges refused his invitation to hide himself in his bedroom so as to see her naked (εἶπε). Candaules nevertheless introduced him into his bedroom (ἤγαγε). The queen saw him (ἐπορᾷ). She did not cry out, nor let it be seen that she had perceived anything (οὔτε ἀνέβωσε οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν). Gyges answered her summons (ἦλθε), and decided to follow the course of action that would make him survive (αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι). The queen hid him behind the door of the bedroom (καταχρύπτει), and Gyges obtained the throne and the queen (ἔσχε).

It is to be noted that the part of Candaules, who played no active role in the 'basic' narrative, is limited to his two crucial actions: he had a passion for his queen, and his wish to show off her beauty made him introduce Gyges into her bedroom.

5.2.3. *Preposed Aorist subordinate clauses*

The subordinate AS clauses provide the joints of the narrative. ἐρασθείς (8^1) and ἀπίκετο (11^2) are co-referential with ἠράσθη and ἦλθε, and, consequently, do not move forward narrative time. μέγα ἀμβώσας (8^3) is a more expressive variant for ἀκούσας ταῦτα, that will gain extra significance by the contrasting οὔτε ἀνέβωσε (9^2). The information that is conveyed, in some cases, is more important than it has been observed to be in [124]: cases in point are, for instance, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα and ἑτοίμους ποιησαμένη (11^1).

As a result of this, the difference between 'narrative time' and 'narrated time' is somewhat smaller than it is in [124] – which adds to the compactness of the story. ὑπεκδύς (echoing ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω) and ἀποκτείνας report Gyges' 'prefinal' actions, and thus – in a way

that is comparable to what has been observed at the close of [124] – move the story forward to its conclusion: it was thus that Gyges, the first Mermnad, became king of Lydia.

5.2.4. *Imperfect main verbs*

As to the main PS predications, the information conveyed by them is not provided for its own sake, but owes its relevance to what constitutes the main story line. That Candaules considered (ἐνόμιζε) his wife the most beautiful woman in the world, or that he discussed (ὑπερετίθετο) his most important business with Gyges, is only interesting in so far as it enables the reader to understand his subsequent behaviour. That he did not leave it at just telling Gyges about his wife's beauty, but wanted him to see it with his own eyes (ἔλεγε), or that he told Gyges not to be distressed by his proposal (ἀμείβετο), is interesting enough, but Herodotus has chosen to present these events as introductory material to Gyges' refusing to comply (εἶπε), and Candaules' nevertheless introducing (ἤγαγε) him into his bedroom, thereby bringing into relief the events that are of central importance for the narrative.

5.2.5. *Summary*

The outcome of the above analysis is that, in the stories discussed, at least four 'levels' are to be distinguished:

– The basic layer consists of the predications expressed by a Historical Present:[141] the predications involved, together, constitute what is the hard core of what serves the primary purpose of the story in its context.

– The second layer consists of the predications expressed by an AS main verb: they give, together with the Historical Present forms, those 'narrative assertions' that are essential for the main 'plot', or, in Aristotelian terms, the μῦθος.[142]

– Subordinate AS clauses (in these passages nearly all of them participles) typically provide what may be loosely termed the 'joints' of the narrative, whereas, finally,

– PS main clauses present different kinds of introductory, elabo-

[141] An attempt at a systematic discussion of the Historical Present will be made in C.M.J. Sicking & P. Stork, 'The Narrative Function of Present and Pluperfect', in: E.J. Bakker (ed.), *Grammar and Interpretation*. Leiden 1997.

[142] One remembers Aristoteles' conviction that it is the poet's task, first to simplify and reduce his story to a universal form, before proceeding to 'lengthen it out', by working in 'episodes' and accessory incidents (*Poetics* 1455b1-13).

rating or otherwise subsidiary material. They expand the story into what may be termed a sequence of small narrative paragraphs, or 'acts'.

Stating that the PS clauses serve the purpose of supplying subsidiary information of different kinds is, of course, not to say that, without them, the narrative still would be what it is: leaving them out would make a captivating story into a dry enumeration of the main facts, that would require the audience's steady and constant concentration, because any flagging of attention would immediately be fatal for the understanding of what is going on – the more so since Herodotus' *Histories* apparently were designed, not to be read, but to be listened to. So the material presented by means of PS main clauses, although it is, from a viewpoint of information, of secondary importance, enhances the aesthetic and dramatic quality of the narrative, adds relief to the *faits et gestes* of the *dramatis personae*, so as to enable the audience to understand and appreciate its content.

5.3. *Thucydides: Harmodius and Aristogeiton*

Thucydides' story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton is particularly interesting because, in the course of his History of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides has written two versions of it, an extended version, and a shorter one:

> Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος Ἵππαρχον οἴονται ὑφ' Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι Ἱππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱέων, Ἵππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἱππίᾳ μεμηνῦσθαι **τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο** ὡς προειδότος, (βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι), τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι, **ἀπέκτειναν**. (Thuc. 1.20[2])

At the start of 1.20, Thucydides has expressed his opinion that people are inclined to accept stories of ancient times in an uncritical way – even when these stories concern their own native cities. A case in point (γοῦν) is the mistaken belief of the Athenians about the so-called τυραννοκτόνοι. Thucydides has limited himself to the main facts he needs for substantiating his claim.

In this version, the story has only three 'levels', there being no instances of the Historical Present. It is to be noted that the whole story is given in only one complex sentence, contrasting the popular belief (Ἵππαρχον οἴονται ... ἀποθανεῖν: *Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed Hip-*

parchus when he was the tyrant) with the facts (οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ... ἀποθανεῖν).

The Aorist Indicatives convey what Thucydides has set out to make clear: the so-called τυραννοκτόνοι actually kept away from the tyrant Hippias, and killed Hipparchus instead. The Aorist participles give the minor steps of the narrative: they did so because they had reason to believe that Hippias had been informed of the plot, and they found Hipparchus when he was organizing the Panathenaic procession. The Imperfect Indicatives ἦρχε and ἦσαν (it is to be noted that there are no viable AS alternatives) present introductory material: at the time, Hippias was the leading man, and Hipparchus and Thessalus were his younger brothers.

Later on (VI.54-58), we get an expanded version of the same story (53^1: ἐπὶ πλέον διηγησάμενος). This time, Thucydides' immediate reason for writing about the same facts is that he wants to explain the Athenians' reaction to the sacrilegious treatment of the mysteries and the mutilation of the Hermae:

> ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παίδων τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην καὶ προσέτι οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἁρμοδίου καταλυθεῖσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐφοβεῖτο αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα ὑπόπτως ἐλάμβανεν. (VI.53^3)
>
> The people knew from hearsay that the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons had, in its later stages, become oppressive; they knew, moreover, that it was not because of themselves and Harmodius that it had come to an end, but because of the Spartans. They were consequently always in a state of fear and apt to look at everything suspiciously.[143]

The starting point of Thucydides' actual report of the facts as he has ascertained them is the statement that it was *not* through Harmodius (ὑφ' Ἁρμοδίου) that the Pisistratid regime came to an end: the reader must realize that the action undertaken by Aristogeiton and Harmodius was due to a love affair:

> 54. (1) Τὸ γὰρ Ἀριστογείτονος καὶ Ἁρμοδίου τόλμημα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν ἐπεχειρήθη, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ πλέον διηγησάμενος ἀποφανῶ οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν λέγοντας.
>
> In fact, the bold action undertaken by Aristogeiton and Harmodius was due to a coincidence that had to do with a love affair. I shall deal with it in some detail, so as to show that the Athenians themselves are no better than other people at producing accurate information about their own tyrants and about the facts of the matter.

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[143] Translations from Thucydides have been adapted from Rex Warner's Penguin translation.

So Thucydides' reason for dealing with the matter *in some detail* is similar to what made him refer to the incident at 1.20. This time, he sets out to correct the mistaken beliefs both a) about the tyrants themselves and b) about what actually happened at the occasion. The organisation of what he has to say will be seen to bear this out.

54. (2) Πεισιστράτου γὰρ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι οὐχ Ἵππαρχος, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἀλλ' Ἱππίας πρεσβύτατος ὢν **ἔσχε** τὴν ἀρχήν.
(γενομένου δὲ Ἁρμοδίου ὥρᾳ ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ Ἀριστογείτων ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν, μέσος πολίτης, ἐραστὴς ὢν εἶχεν αὐτόν.) (3) πειραθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἁρμόδιος ὑπὸ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου καὶ οὐ πεισθεὶς ***καταγορεύει*** τῷ Ἀριστογείτονι. ὁ δὲ ἐρωτικῶς περιαλγήσας καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὴν Ἱππάρχου δύναμιν μὴ βίᾳ προσαγάγηται αὐτόν, ***ἐπιβουλεύει*** εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι.
(4) καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἵππαρχος ὡς αὖθις πειράσας *οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπειθε* τὸν Ἁρμόδιον, *βίαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν*, ἐν τρόπῳ δέ τινι ἀφανεῖ ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ *παρεσκευάζετο προπηλακιῶν* αὐτόν.

This is first paragraph of the story. It can be summarized as follows:
– After Pisistratus' death, it was Hippias, and not Hipparchus, who took over power.
– Harmodius, who was the lover of Aristogeiton, was approached by Hipparchus, but refused to comply. He told Aristogeiton of this. Aristogeiton was greatly upset, and, being afraid that Hipparchus might take Harmodius by force, he plotted to overthrow the regime. Meanwhile, Hipparchus' further attempts to seduce Harmodius remained unsuccessful. He had, however, no intention to use force, but planned to insult him in a way that would not reveal his real motives for doing so.

The longer version differs from the abridged one in that (as in the stories taken from Herodotus) *four* 'levels' are to be distinghuished – the Historical Present forms presenting those facts that are of prime importance for the *raison d'être* of the narrative *in its context*: Harmodius informed Aristogeiton about Hipparchus' overtures, and Aristogeiton plotted to overthrow the regime. In this paragraph, there are (apart from ἔσχε in the introductory sentence) no Aorist main verbs.

At the end of the paragraph, Thucydides, for the moment, interrupts the story (54[4]: παρεσκευάζετο προπηλακιῶν αὐτόν), PS signalling that it is to be continued.

54. (5) οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρασσόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν καλῶς διεκόσμησαν καὶ τοὺς πολέμους

διέφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔθυον. (6) τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι.

καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοὔνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. (7) καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μεῖζον μῆκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοὐπίγραμμα· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱός
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

55. ὅτι δὲ πρεσβύτατος ὢν Ἱππίας ἦρξεν, εἰδὼς μὲν καὶ ἀκοῇ ἀκριβέστερον ἄλλων ἰσχυρίζομαι, γνοίη δ' ἄν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ·

παῖδες γὰρ αὐτῷ μόνῳ φαίνονται τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γενόμενοι, ὥς ὅ τε βωμὸς σημαίνει καὶ ἡ στήλη περὶ τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἀδικίας ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει σταθεῖσα, ἐν ᾗ Θεσσαλοῦ μὲν οὐδ' Ἱππάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς γέγραπται, Ἱππίου δὲ πέντε, οἳ αὐτῷ ἐκ Μυρρίνης τῆς Καλλίου τοῦ Ὑπεροχίδου θυγατρὸς ἐγένοντο· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτατον πρῶτον γῆμαι. (2) καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ πρῶτος γέγραπται μετὰ τὸν πατέρα, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπεοικότως διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννεῦσαι.

(3) οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν κατασχεῖν μοι δοκεῖ ποτὲ Ἱππίας τὸ παραχρῆμα ῥᾳδίως τὴν τυραννίδα, εἰ Ἵππαρχος μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὢν ἀπέθανεν, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐθημερὸν καθίστατο· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πρότερον ξύνηθες τοῖς μὲν πολίταις φοβερόν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ἀκριβές, πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀδελφὸς νεώτερος ὢν ἠπόρησεν, ἐν ᾧ οὐ πρότερον ξυνεχῶς ὡμιλήκει τῇ ἀρχῇ.

(4) Ἱππάρχῳ δὲ ξυνέβη τοῦ πάθους τῇ δυστυχίᾳ ὀνομασθέντα καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα προσλαβεῖν.)

The first clause of this section (οὐδε γὰρ ... τοὺς πολλούς) contains subsidiary material that owes its relevance to the story itself: it tells the reader that Hipparchus' reluctance to use force fits in with the general characteristics of the regime. The remaining part, however, has no direct relevance for the reader's understanding of the *faits et gestes* of Harmodius and his friend. It is no part of the story, but presents further justification of Thucydides' belief that, at the time, the Pisistratid regime was still a moderate one. The wider relevance of this is that it helps to undermine the common belief that Harmodius and Aristogeiton intended to put an end to the tyranny. As will be made clear later on (59^2), it was only after Hipparchus' death that the regime became more oppressive.

So, from ἀλλ' ἐπιφθόνως onwards, narrative time is brought to a standstill. The Aorist Indicatives (κατεστήσατο, ἐπετήδευσαν, διεκόσμησαν) present independent statements of fact, but do not move forward

time. The Imperfect Indicatives (διέφερον, ἔθυον, ἐχρῆτο, ἐπεμέλοντο) further specify καλῶς διεκόσμησαν:

> although the taxes imposed on the Athenians were relatively low, they managed to regulate the city's affairs in an impeccable way, bearing the burden of war and making the proper sacrifices; in all other respects, the city was governed by the laws that had existed previously, except that they took care to see that there was always one of their family in office.[144]

From καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν (54^6) onwards, we get a digression within a digression – its purpose being to provide additional evidence of the Pisistratids' taking care that there was always one of their own family in office.

At 55^1, ὅτι δέ opens a new paragraph, which is devoted to what was one of Thucydides' main points at I.20 (*They don't know that it was Hippias who was the eldest and the chief of the sons of Pisistratus, and that Hipparchus and Thessalus were his younger brothers*), and at 54^1 (περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων). Thucydides argues his claim a) by providing evidence from an inscription, and b) by pointing out that, if Hipparchus had been tyrant at the time of his death, Hippias could never have seized power at a moment's notice. Finally, he explains that the Athenians' mistaken belief on the matter is also due to the fact that Hipparchus' name stuck in the memory of later generations because of his being killed, and that, consequently, he was, wrongly, believed to have been tyrant at the moment. Then Thucydides resumes the Harmodius story:

> 56. Τὸν δ' οὖν Ἁρμόδιον ἀπαρνηθέντα τὴν πείρασιν, (ὥσπερ διενοεῖτο), **προυπηλάκισεν**· ἀδελφὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κόρην ἐπαγγείλαντες ἥκειν κανοῦν οἴσουσαν ἐν πομπῇ τινί, **ἀπήλασαν** λέγοντες οὐδὲ ἐπαγγεῖλαι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξίαν εἶναι. (2) χαλεπῶς δὲ ἐνεγκόντος τοῦ Ἁρμοδίου πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων *παρωξύνετο*. καὶ αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς ξυνεπιθησομένους τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπέπρακτο, *περιέμενον* δὲ Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα, (ἐν ᾗ μόνον ἡμέρᾳ οὐχ ὕποπτον ἐγίγνετο ἐν ὅπλοις τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς τὴν πομπὴν πέμψοντας ἀθρόους γενέσθαι·) (καὶ ἔδει ἄρξαι μὲν αὐτούς, ξυνεπαμύνειν δὲ εὐθὺς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκείνους.) (3) (ἦσαν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ οἱ ξυνομωμοκότες ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα· ἤλπιζον γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ προειδότας, εἰ καὶ ὁποσοιοῦν τολμήσειαν, ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἔχοντάς γε ὅπλα ἐθελήσειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνελευθεροῦν.)

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[144] καλῶς διεκόσμησαν does not – as the translations by Warner and Georg-Peter Landmann have it – refer to Pisistratid building policy ('they greatly improved the appearance of their city', 'ihre Stadt prächtig auszubauen'). It presents Thucydides' general characterization of the regime (cf. Thuc. II.100^2, VI.57^1, quoted above, and Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v.). If it would refer to building policy it would be difficult indeed to explain why διεκόσμησαν is AS, and διέφερον, ἔθυον, ἐπεμέλοντο are PS.

57. καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἱππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων *διεκόσμει* ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι, ὁ δὲ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων ἔχοντες ἤδη τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐς τὸ ἔργον *προῇσαν*. (2) καὶ ὡς εἶδόν τινα τῶν ξυνωμοτῶν σφίσι διαλεγόμενον οἰκείως τῷ Ἱππίᾳ (ἦν δὲ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Ἱππίας), **ἔδεισαν καὶ ἐνόμισαν** μεμηνῦσθαί τε καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ξυλληφθήσεσθαι.
(3) τὸν λυπήσαντα οὖν σφᾶς καὶ δι' ὅνπερ πάντα ἐκινδύνευον ἐβούλοντο πρότερον, εἰ δύναιντο, προτιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ (ὥσπερ εἶχον) **ὥρμησαν** ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ **περιέτυχον** τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπερισκέπτως προσπεσόντες καὶ ὡς ἂν μάλιστα δι' ὀργῆς ὁ μὲν ἐρωτικῆς, ὁ δὲ ὑβρισμένος, *ἔτυπτον* καὶ ***ἀποκτείνουσιν*** αὐτόν. (4) καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς δορυφόρους τὸ αὐτίκα ***διαφεύγει*** ὁ Ἀριστογείτων, ξυνδραμόντος τοῦ ὄχλου, καὶ ὕστερον ληφθεὶς οὐ ῥᾳδίως **διετέθη**· Ἁρμόδιος δὲ αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα ***ἀπόλλυται***.
58. ἀγγελθέντος δὲ Ἱππίᾳ ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πομπέας τοὺς ὁπλίτας, πρότερον ἢ αἰσθέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἄπωθεν ὄντας, εὐθὺς **ἐχώρησε**, καὶ ἀδήλως τῇ ὄψει πλασάμενος πρὸς τὴν ξυμφορὰν **ἐκέλευσεν** αὐτούς, δείξας τι χωρίον, ἀπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὸ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων. (2) καὶ οἱ μὲν **ἀνεχώρησαν** (οἰόμενοί τι ἐρεῖν αὐτόν), ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἐπικούροις φράσας τὰ ὅπλα ὑπολαβεῖν *ἐξελέγετο* εὐθὺς οὓς ἐπῃτιᾶτο καὶ εἴ τις ηὑρέθη ἐγχειρίδιον ἔχων· (μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν).

By means of δ' οὖν ('However that may be'), Thucydides signals that, now, he will continue the story that has been interrupted at 54^4, picking it up where he left off (note the 'lexical overlap' of προυπηλάκισεν with προπηλακιῶν).

The Historical Present forms, together with those in 54^3, give us the facts that are primarily relevant to Thucydides' wish to correct the Athenians' mistaken beliefs περὶ τοῦ γενομένου (54^1): Harmodius informed Aristogeiton about Hipparchus' overtures (54^3: καταγορεύει); Aristogeiton plotted to overthrow the regime (54^3: ἐπιβουλεύει); Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchus (57^3: ἀποκτείνουσι); Aristogeiton, for the time being, escaped (διαφεύγει), Harmodius was killed on the spot (57^4: ἀπόλλυται).

The Aorist Indicatives, together with the Present Indicatives, give us the complete story as it is summarized afterwards by Thucydides himself at 59^1.

In order to understand why the death of Aristogeiton is presented, not by a Present but by an Aorist, it is to be noted that his death is said to have occurred at some later, unspecified moment (ὕστερον). This fits in with the introduction to the story at 53^3, where Harmodius is the only one to be mentioned. Presumably, Thucydides intended to present him as the main character: he was the one who, by refusing to comply with Hipparchus, triggered the whole event, who

was insulted by Hipparchus and who, finally, died at the spot. There is, perhaps, just a slight indication that Thucydides was inclined to make Aristogeiton (presumably the older one) responsible for the results of panicking at the crucial moment, and, moreover, disapproved of his having taken to his heels instead of sharing Harmodius' fate.

Ch. 58 reports Hippias' reaction to the death of his brother. It seems so designed as to suggest to the reader that the action of the τυραννοκτόνοι, far from putting an end to tyranny, resulted in a change for the worse.

At 59^1, Thucydides summarizes his report of τὸ Ἀριστογείτονος καὶ Ἁρμοδίου τόλμημα:

> τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ δι' ἐρωτικὴν λύπην ἥ τε ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἡ ἀλόγιστος τόλμα ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐγένετο.
>
> In this way the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton originated in the wounded feelings of a lover, and their reckless action resulted from a momentary failure of nerve.

At first sight, it seems remarkable that the last event that preceded this summary (58^2: ἐξελέγετο) is expressed by means of PS. But, although it completes the report of Hipparchus' death and its immediate consequences, Thucydides has not yet reached the point that was his reason for inserting the story at this place. He still has to explain the origin of the Athenians' seeing in the conduct of Alcibiades and his comrades part of a plot that aimed at setting up a tyranny.

So, after the summary, at $59^{2\text{-}4}$, he continues the narrative in order to explain that, after this, Hippias hardened his policy, and, finally, was deposed by the Spartans and the exiled Alcmaeonids. The concluding passage helps to make clear that Harmodius and Aristogeiton cannot be seen as the τυραννοκτόνοι, who, as the popular song about them had it, set an end to 'tyranny':

> αἰεὶ σφῶιν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἶαν,
> φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδιε καὶ Ἀριστόγειτον,
> ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην
> ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην (*PMG* 896).

On the contrary, their ill-considered action, in the end, resulted in turning a relatively benevolent regime into something of a nightmare, that had to be put an end to with the help of the Spartans.

Only then, the reader is in the position of understanding what is the final conclusion:

> ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μιμνῃσκόμενος ὅσα ἀκοῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἠπίστατο, χαλεπὸς ἦν τότε καὶ ὑπόπτης κτλ. (60^1)

5.3.1. *Summary*

By way of summary, it can be observed that the overall organisation of the narrative by means of the Present and Aorist main verb forms is, in all respects, similar to what has been observed above (Section 5.1–5.2.) to be the practice of Herodotus – if, that is to say one bears in mind that the 'digressions' (54^{5}–55^{4}) are not to be read as 'subsidiary material' in the strict sense of the word: their presence is due, not to any need that is provoked by the narrative itself, but to Thucydides' intention to correct the mistaken beliefs of the Athenians.

When we further compare Thucydides' narrative procedures to those of Herodotus, at least two characteristic differences catch the eye:

1. The number of Imperfect finite verbs is much smaller than it has seen to be in Herodotus. Thucydides gives the reader little more than what I have termed above the μῦθος. The few instances there are serve the purpose of telling the reader what he needs in order to understand the main facts:

– ὡς (...) οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπειθε (...) βίαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν (54^{4}) prepares for Hipparchus' limiting himself to insulting Harmodius' sister;

– παρωξύνετο (56^{2}) and περιέμενον link up the insult to Harmodius' sister with the events on the crucial day;

ἔτυπτον (57^{3}) seems to be about the only Present Indicative that, perhaps, could have been left out without seriously affecting the reader's ability to understand what is going on. One suspects that, by adding it, Thucydides intended to intimate that the ill-considered action even could have proved unsuccessful.

The remaining PS predications, as in Herodotus, stand apart from the narrative. They do not move forward narrative time, and merely provide the reader with some necessary background information about *realia*: the Panathenaea were the only day on which the citizens could gather together in arms without exciting suspicion (56^{2}), there were not many conspirators for reasons of security (56^{3}), Hippias did not make it difficult for anyone to approach him (57^{2}), shields and spears where the arms that were customarily carried in a procession (58).

2. The preposed AS participles differ from those in Herodotus in that, from a viewpoint of information, they cannot be characterized as providing what I have called above the 'joints of the narrative'. Cases in point are πειραθείς, οὐ πεισθείς, περιαλγήσας, φοβηθείς (54^{3}), αὖθις πειράσας (54^{4}), ἀπαγγείλαντες (56^{1}), χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντος (56^{2}), προσπεσόντες (57^{3}), ληφθείς (57^{4}), πλασάμενος, δείξας, φράσας (58$^{1-2}$).

Technically speaking, the AS participles in Thucydides come closer than those in Herodotus to what, in discourse linguistics, is termed 'clause chaining'. There is, however, a clear 'hierarchy': the AS indicatives present the main narrative steps, the AS participles supply information the reader needs in order to understand how the main events of the story cohere.

3. There are no Present participles, and the point of view remains that of the narrator throughout.

Since, of course, just one instance does not provide one with a basis for generalizing on the characteristics of Thucydides' narrative 'style', I will resist any temptation to do so. What may, perhaps, be observed is that – when we compare this story with Herodotus' narrative – the pace, complexity and compactness of Thucydides' report make much greater demands on the audience's (or: the reader's?) ability to concentrate on what he is being told, and to handle the information he is given. The considerations that appear to have affected Thucydides' choice of both the Historical Present and AS/PS, however, are, in all respects, exactly the same as those that have been observed in the material taken from Herodotus.

6. FINAL CONCLUSION

I have argued that the contrast between AS and PS does not serve the purpose of distinguishing between 'une action en cours de développement', and 'une action pure et simple', or of contrasting 'completed' actions with actions that are 'not-completed'. Nor is the use of AS or PS bound up with any 'temporal' characteristics, or with the chronology, of the situation(s) referred to. On the contrary, in many instances, one may well substitute PS for AS (or *vice versa*) without having to alter the truth-conditions of what is communicated. One could even delete a considerable number of PS and AS markers in Herodotus' text without giving rise to any uncertainty about the chronology of the narrative or the temporal relationship between the situations involved.

It appears, then, that the 'distribution' of AS and PS cannot be successfully explained if we take it that the speaker's decision to adopt one of the two contrasting forms is motivated by the wish to convey information of any kind regarding the 'facts' that are being described, or evoked. In order to understand the basic content of the contrast between AS and PS as such, we have to leave aside considerations of 'meaning' or reference, and to bring in considerations of discourse organisation. By way of summary I submit the following:

Aorist indicative verb forms and participles 1) are to be assigned focus function (or: are the 'nucleus') in the clause they are part of, and 2) are the predicate of a self-contained statement.

It is to be noted that, as as a consequence of this, in narrative contexts, AS Indicatives in main clauses and preposed ἐπεί(τε)-, ἐπειδή- and ὡς-clauses, and preposed AS participles, typically move forward narrative time – except for those cases where an AS verb form is co-referential with another AS form in the preceding context.[145]

By using Imperfect indicatives or Present participles, on the other

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[145] Cases in point are 'resumptive' AS forms (cf., for instance, ἀποθανόντος in [16], and τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε in [24]) and postposed AS clauses that present further description or specification of the action referred to by the main verb (cf., for instance, ἐξάψαντες in [70]). Cf. Susan Ehrlich, 'Referential Linking and the Interpretation of Tense', *Journal of Pragmatics* 14 (1990) 59: 'If an event is represented as having moved time forward within a narrative world, any further reference to it will be anaphoric'. It is to be noted that this applies also to PS verb forms, which – as has been seen above – can (but often do not) move forward time too. Cf., for instance, Hdt. II.52²⁻³: καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ. τὸ γὰρ (...). ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ κτλ. (I owe this instance to Michel Buijs).

hand, a speaker (or writer) signals to his audience (or readership) that the verb form at hand is not meant to perform an independent informative function. *Either* the PS verb form indicates that it is not to be taken as the 'nucleus' of its clause, the speaker wanting to focus on some other constituent within the same clause, *or* the statement in which the PS verb form is the predicate, is to be connected with another statement (or other statements) in the immediate or wider context – bearing no focus itself, but being just one item in a series, or otherwise owing its relevance to some other statement.

In those cases where substituting AS for PS would affect the *information* that is communicated, this is not to be ascribed to any semantic value (or 'sense') of AS or PS as such, but is to be considered a side-effect of the pragmatic function of PS forms: we understand what the speaker intends to communicate by combining the pragmatic function of the constituent (or statement) at hand with the characteristics of the action referred to and/or the data provided by the context.[146]

6.1. *Final conclusion illustrated*

I will illustrate this conclusion with two characteristic instances, not taken from Herodotus.

> [125] ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι σῴζονταί τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες *ἐνίκησαν* αὐτούς. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμδι ὁπόσους κατακτάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὑρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πενταχοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. ἔπειτα, ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ Ἕλλαδα, καὶ τότε *ἐνίκων* οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν (Xen. *An.* III.II.11–13)

If one would make ἐνίκησαν and ἐνίκων change places, this would have no consequences whatever for the factual content of the passage. There can, however, be no doubt that it would result in a different organisation of Xenophon's text: it would make the description of the first time the Athenians resisted the Persian invaders into the

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[146] As can be seen in the instances in Section 4.1., in English, shifting the nucleus can have similar results. Nobody would, of course, be prepared to ascribe these to some *semantic* property of acoustic prominence as such.

first item in a series of two, or into an introduction to the second – thereby altering the rhetorical impact of what is being said.

As it is, in the first sentence, ἐνίκησαν has focus function, whereas, in the second sentence, ἐνίκων merely restates what is the subject of the passage, the Athenian ability to beat the Persians – the prominent elements being those which serve the rhetorical climax Xenophon wants to achieve: when the Persians came out to destroy Athens, the Athenians defeated them; when, ὕστερον, the Persians deployed an army not to be counted, your ancestors *did so* once again (καὶ τότε), both on land and on sea.[147]

> [126] δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν *καθίσταντο*, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι), ναυτικά τε *ἐξηρτύετο* ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον *ἀντείχοντο*. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. (Thuc.1.13[1])
>
> When Greece became more powerful and capital was accumulated, tyrannies were established, and, as the revenue increased, the Greeks built ships and ambition turned toward seapower. My sources tell me that the Corinthians have been the first to adopt more or less modern methods in shipbuilding, and that the first triremes ever built in Greece were laid down in Corinth.

The passage is part of Thucydides' extensive justification of his belief that the Peloponnesian war was the greatest disturbance in the history of the Greeks (1.1[2]). The italicized verb forms are not to be read as self-contained statements: καθίσταντο, ἐξηρτύετο and ἀντείχοντο, together, lead up to what is presented as a major turning point in the development Thucydides is describing (πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι) – highlighted later on by a Historical Present (1.13[4]: ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὧν ἴσμεν *γίγνεται* Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους), that reports the fact that the battle between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans was the first veritable naval battle on record. We could, without any consequences for the *factual* content, or the chronology, of the passage, substitute AS for the italicized verb forms. Doing so, however, would transform into a sequence of factual statements what is meant to be part of an argument that is to substantiate Thucydides' belief by showing that large scale war operations only became possible when certain conditions were fulfilled.[148]

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[147] The change of construction from an absolute genitive to ὅτε ... τότε helps to underline Xenophon's intentions.

[148] The PS participles γιγνομένης and ποιουμένης are no self-contained statements

7. OBSERVATIONS ON OTHER CONSTRUCTION TYPES

I have, so far, followed what appears to be general practice by limiting my argument to Imperfect and Aorist Indicatives and Present and Aorist participles. Further investigation is indispensable, and would, I believe, prove especially rewarding for final and conditional subclauses. It would, however, be complicated both by the great variety of moods and tenses that come into play (subjunctive, optative, future indicative &c.), and by the fact that, in the case of final subclauses, before proceeding to determine the consequences of one or another verb form having been chosen, one would, ideally, have to define the differences between the conjunctions involved (ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως, ὄφρα). I will, therefore, limit myself to an interpretation of a number of instances of AS and PS in the Dynamic Infinitive, taking advantage of the work that has been done by Stork.

7.1. *'Dynamic' Infinitive*

For the so-called Dynamic Inifinitive,[149] the relevant material in Herodotus has been collected in an exemplary way in Stork 1982. He rightly has given pride of place to those cases where, with one and the same main verb, both AS and PS of one and the same verb occur – thus securing optimum conditions for studying 'the interaction between the aspectual usage of the dynamic infinitive, on the one hand, and (1) the meaning of the verb and/or the context of the verb phrase to which the infinitive belongs and (2) the context in which the infinitive occurs, on the other hand.'[150]

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either, but present the conditions which led to the establishment of tyrannies. The *varia lectio* γενομένης does not seem to be an impossible reading. Thucydides has explained before (1.12⁴) that stability was only reached (ἡσυχάσασα) when the period of shifting populations had come to an end, and that, only then, the major colonies were founded (ἐξέπεμψε); so there is, perhaps, nothing against making γενομένης into a separate statement: *Greece became more powerful, and the increasing wish to acquire capital that went with it occasioned the establishment of tyrannies.*

[149] 'The *declarative infinitive* is used to denote the content of a *statement of fact* in which references are drawn about a situation that is conceived of as actually existing at some point of time (...) the statement contained by the infinitival complement is directly comparable to and interchangeable with a declarative sentence with the indicative. The *dynamic* infinitive is best defined negatively, viz. as basically *non-declarative.*' (Stork 14).

[150] Stork p. 45.

Stork has classified the material according to the characteristics of the main verbs involved, and distinguishes eleven main 'construction types' or semantic categories: Custom, Begin, Order, Decide, Obligation, Allow, Wish, Effect, Request, Ability, Happen. I will discuss a number of instances dealt with by him under the headings 'Permanent Context' (descriptions of geological etc. phenomena), 'Ability' and 'Effect/Hinder'. A closer look at the passages will make clear that some of them are of a type that, so far, has more or less resisted attempts to explain the use of AS or PS by considerations of reference – there being little or no difference between either the AS and PS actions involved themselves or their temporal relationship to some other situation in the context or to a *moment donné*.

7.1.1. *Geography etc.*

[127] πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι *ὕειν* ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφι ἔστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον. (II.13[3])

Learning that the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by rivers, the Egyptians said that, some day, the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and starve miserably. In other words: if the god will not see fit to send them rain but will afflict them with draught, all Greeks will die from famine because they have no other source of water than Zeus.

The point, obviously, is that, unlike the Egyptians, who believe they can trust the Nile to supply them with water, the Greeks depend on the benevolence of the god: they will die from famine as soon as *he* decides no to send them rain. So ὕειν is topical, while ὁ θεός has focus function, as the concluding γάρ-clause helps to make clear.

[128] δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ *ὗσαι* ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι, ὥστε εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία (II.22[3])

Rain and frost are unknown there, and when snow has fallen it is bound to rain, within five days. So if there were snow, there would have to be rain too in that part of the world.

Herodotus is refuting the belief that the Nile flows from where snows melt. His second proof is based on the fact that, in Egypt, rain is unknown, whereas his experience tells him that, whenever there is snow, there will have to be rain also. So the absence of rain proves

the absence of snow. It will be clear that, in ὗσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι, ὗσαι is the prominent element.

[129] εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρη ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι, εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεταί σφι ἡ χώρη μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τε ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας *ὑπερβαίνειν*; (II.14[1])

If, as I said before, the land below Memphis continues to increase in height at the same rate as in the past, is it not obvious that – there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields – the people who live there will go hungry?

As in [127], water supply is the issue: if both rain fails to come and the Nile fails to flood the fields, the result, inevitably, will be famine. So, ὁ ποταμός (together with ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας) appears to have focus function – as may be gathered also from the word-order: εἰ μήτε ὕσεται (...) μήτε ὁ ποταμός (...).

[130] ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ, ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας *ὑπερβῆναι* ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναί ἐστι. (II.99[3])

To this day the elbow which the Nile forms here, where it is forced into its new channel, is most carefully watched by the Persians, who strengthen the dam every year; for should the river burst through it and overflow, all Memphis is in danger of drowning.

Both ῥήξας and ὑπερβῆναι have focus function. As Stork (72) rightly observes, εἰ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμός is virtually equivalent to *ἢν ῥήξας ὑπερβῇ ὁ ποταμός – which makes still more clear that, in the εἰ-clause, the verb forms have focus function (note that the word order differs from that in [130]): the Persians are watching this part of the river because they fear that the river will burst the dam and overflow.

[131] ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν *ὑπερβῆναι* ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. (I.104[1])

From the sea of Azov to the Phasis and the Colchians is a thirty days' journey for a light traveller; from the Colchians it is an easy matter to cross into Media; there is but one nation between, the Saspires: to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains.

[132] τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ γῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης *ὑπερβῆναι* ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον (II.158[4]).

These instances differ from those in [129] and [130] in that ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν and ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην κτλ. refer to terminative actions[151] In [131], Herodotus' point is that, although there was a comparatively easy way for the Scythians to enter Media, they actually reached it by a longer and much more difficult road. So ὑπερβῆναι refers not to the Scythians' just passing through the country of the Saspires, but to the possibility of their actually *entering* Media by this way. [132] is to be explained along the same lines.

[133] τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην [λέγουσι] ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρης οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε *ὁρᾶν* οὔτε *διεξιέναι* ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων. πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἠέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκλήιοντα τὴν ὄψιν (IV.7[3])

Regarding to the region above and northward of the neighbours of the country they report that, further on, both seeing and travelling are impossible because of falling feathers – earth and air , they say, are thick with them and they shut out the view.

[134] περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἠέρα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι οὔτε *ἰδεῖν* τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἠπείρου οὔτε *διεξιέναι*, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, (...) τὰ ὦν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντεας τὴν χίονα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. (IV.31[1])

About the feathers, which the Sythians say fill the air, and to which they ascribe the impossibility of seeing what is beyond and tof travelling through it – I think that, northwards of this country snow falls continuously. (...) I think therefore that in this tale of the feathers the Scythians and their neigbours merely speak of snow in a figure.

The difference between these two passages is slight but unmistakable. In [133], the prominent element in the Scythians' report is ὑπὸ τῶν πτερῶν κεχυμένων, whereas οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὁρᾶν οὔτε διεξιέναι presents what they seek to explain. In [134], Herodotus comes back to the subject, in order to give his opinion on their explanation. Accordingly, in [134], περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν is the main topic, which is further specified by τούτων εἵνεκα: *regarding their making 'feathers' the explanation of ... this is what I think about it.* By writing ἰδεῖν instead of ὁρᾶν, Herodotus conveys that, this time, he is referring, not

[151] As Stork points out to me, in both instances the infinitive is placed between the ἐκ- and the ἐς- adjunct.

just to the Scythians' saying so, but to the factual content of their report, which he is prepared to believe: *as to the Scythians' report of the conditions that obtain northward of their country: the f a c t that one is unable to see the land beyond is to be explained, not by feathers, but by snow.* It is relevant to note, with Stork, that, in [134], ἰδεῖν has a complement (τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἠπείρου), which is placed immediately behind the infinitive. διεξιέναι, referring to a terminative action, is, of course, both times PS, since the issue is not that one cannot *traverse* the (unspecified) region, but that one cannot even begin to do so.

[135] ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερὲς πάντῃ, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δή τι λέγεται ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷά τε εἶναι *ἰδέσθαι*· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος (IV.184[3])

The mountain (viz. Atlas) is a slender cone, and it is so high that according to report the top cannot be seen, because summer and winter it is never free of clouds.

It will be obvious that ἰδέσθαι is to be assigned topic function.

7.1.2. *Ability*

Stork's instances of the construction type 'Ability' are the following:

[136] ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα *τίνεσθαι*.[152] (IX.120[2])

Stop being afraid of this prodigy, for it has no reference to you: Protesilaus is telling m e that though he is as dead as a dried fish, thanks to the gods, his power to punish the man who wronged him is still undiminished.

I hope to have brought out by my translation that Artaÿctes is focussing on Protesilaus' *power* to punish wrongdoers *being undiminished, even now that he is dead.* There being no AS alternative for the present tense δύναται, Herodotus, has made this clear by writing δύναμιν ἔχει instead.

[137] καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἠέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν· ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοὶ Ἀθηναίους *τείσασθαι*, εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἑνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρὶς ἑκάστοτε εἰπεῖν· Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων. (V.105[2])

He shot an arrow up into the air, and prayed: Zeus, grant that I may punish the Athenians.

It will be clear that focus function is to be assigned to τείσασθαι.

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[152] σινέεσθαι d.

[138] ἄνδρες Παίονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἤν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει *σῴζεσθαι* ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει. (v.98²)

Aristagoras has sent me to propose a way by which you may save yourselves, if you will adopt it. At the moment, all Ionia is in revolt against the king, and this gives you the chance of getting back home safely. You must make your own way to the sea, and after that we will look after you.

The Paeonians may save themselves if only they decide to act according to Aristagoras' advice (ἤν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι). PS is appropriate, since, from νῦν γάρ onwards, the safe return of the Paeonians is the speaker's topic. He is pointing out to them that the revolt of Ionia provides them with the opportunity, and that the Milesians are willing to assist them in securing it. By using σωθῆναι he would have addressed the question of whether they will or will not return home safely.

[139] ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε· ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστι *σῶσαι* τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἤν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. (VIII.60A)

The line he took this time was quite different. "It is now in your power", he said, "to save Greece, if you take my advice and engage the Persian fleet here in Salamis instead of, as these other people suggest, withdrawing to the Isthmus."

ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστι κτλ. is the first sentence of Themistocles' speech to Eurybiades: by following Themistocles' advice, he can earn himself the honour of being called the 'saviour of Greece'. One could well paraphrase it by *it is up to you whether Greece is going to be saved or not*, thus bringing out how σῶσαι differs from σῴζεσθαι in [138].[153]

[140] Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρῶντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὖτις τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἷοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι *ἀποθνῄσκειν*, ἤν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες. (VIII.94³)

They told him that they were willing to be taken hostage and to die, if the Greeks were found not to have won the battle.

The Corinthian captain Adimantus is hailed by the crew of a phantom-ship who tell him to turn back to the battle-scene because the

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[153] ποιέεσθαι is PS, since the issue is not *whether* but *where* there is going to be a battle.

Greeks are sure to win. On his not believing them, they asseverate that they would be willing to be taken hostage and die if their prediction should turn out to be false. PS is appropriate since AS would have made οἷοί τε ἐσμεν (...) *ἀποθανεῖν into a self-contained statement, which it is not: their willingness to die is subject to the condition of the Greeks eventually not winning the battle. Accordingly, the conditional clause is placed after and not before ὡς αὐτοί ... ἀποθνήσκειν.

> [141] ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ οἷοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, *ἀποθανεῖν*; (III.73[1])
>
> "Friends", said Gobryas, "will there ever be a better moment than this to save the throne, or, if we should fail to do so, to die?"

This is a clear case of contrastive focus: the alternative is either to save the throne or to die. It is to be noted that the passage differs from [140] in that, this time, the infinitive concludes the sentence.

> [142] ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεί κοτε ἡ Ἰωνίη, ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἱδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἔστι *ὁρᾶν* ἔχοντας (VI.86A[4])
>
> People all over Greece, and in Ionia too, are always talking of your honesty, and that set me thinking. Ionia, I told myself, is never safe from sudden change, whereas the Peloponnese is stable, and in Ionia one never sees property stay long in the same hands.
>
> [143] οὔτε Ἀτόσσῃ δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν *ἰδέσθαι* τῶν συγκατημένων γυναικῶν· ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὥνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτέ ἐστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τάξας. (III.68[5])
>
> I have no means of speaking to Atossa nor of getting to see any other of the king's wives, for as soon as this man, whoever he is, came to the throne, he separated us and gave us all different quarters.

In [142], the speaker wants to illustrate the instability of the political situation in Ionia by the observation that, there, the same person does never retain his possessions for long. He is focussing on *what* he has seen, not on having or not having *seen* it. In [143], on the other hand, what Otanes' daughter wants to convey is precisely that it is impossible for her to speak to Atossa or even to *get to see* one of the other women in the palace.

> [144] εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὅρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας *βοηθέειν* ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν

πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι *βοηθέειν*, ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμωτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.

ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο *βοηθέειν* καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στίχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε καὶ μηκέτι δύνασθαι *βοηθῆσαι*. τὸ γὰρ προκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε. (IX.60²-61¹)

Had it been you who were first attacked by the Persian horse, we should have been bound to come to your assistance, together with the Tegeans who are, like us, loyal to the cause of Greece. But as it is, we, not you, being the ones who bear the weight of the attack, it is your duty to support those who are hardest pressed. If you are in any difficulty which prevents you from coming to our aid, then send us your archers, and we shall be grateful. We acknowledge that throughout this war your zeal has been equalled by none; you will, then, be favorable to this request also.

On receipt of this message the Athenians were eager to come the relief of the Spartans, anxious to give all the help they could. But they were no sooner on the move than they were attacked by the Greek troops under Persian command, who held the position facing them. A side-effect of this was that it was no longer possible for them to come to the aid of the Spartans, being troubled by what they had to face first.

In the Spartans' message the issue is who is to assist whom: the explicit and repeated contrast between ὑμεῖς and ἡμεῖς suffices to make that clear. From ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο onwards, the Athenians are the topic: they are reported to have started acting according to the Spartans' request, but to have been prevented from actually doing so. So the function of βοηθῆσαι is different from that of βοηθέειν in the preceding context: the Athenians are now reported to have been unable actually to *assist* the Spartans.

[145] παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὅμοια τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ *ὑπομένειν* Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκτριβῆναι. (VII.120²)

It was clear enough, he said, that if the orders had been to prepare a morning meal as well as an evening one, the people of Abdera would have had to clear out altogether before Xerxes arrived or else be hopelessly crushed by the burden of the expense.

As Stork rightly observes, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκτριβῆναι is equivalent to *ἢ καταμένειν ὥστε κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκτριβῆναι. This brings out nicely that the speaker is focussing on having or not having to bear the consequences of being there at

Xerxes' arrival: *your choice would have been, either* n o t *to be there when Xerxes arrived or, having decided to be there, to bear the consequences.* By writing ὑπομεῖναι Herodotus would have given the impression that not awaiting Xerxes *as such* were the issue.

> [146] νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἕλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑ π ο μ ε ῖ ν α ι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι. (VII.101[2])
>
> Tell me, then, – will the Greeks dare to offer me battle, lifting a hand against me? My own belief is that all the Greeks and all the other western peoples gathered together would be insufficient to stand their ground against an attack of my army, if they are not united.

Xerxes wants to know, not whether Demaratus thinks that the Greeks will be there when his army arrives, but whether he considers them capable of resisting him. So ὑπομεῖναι refers to a successful terminative action, and has focus function – as may be gathered also from the fact that μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι substantiates Xerxes' belief: *I myself believe that, as they are now, they will not be capable of resisting me, and my reason for believing this is that, in order to be capable of doing so they would have to form a united whole.*

> [147] τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νώτου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φ ε ύ γ ε ι ν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γενοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. (V.118[2])
>
> The purport of this man's proposal was that the army should cross the Maeander and fight with the river in their rear: having no possibility of fleeing backward and being compelled to remain there, they would show themselves even braver than nature made them.

The crucial element of the strategic proposal is the place where the battle is to be fought; what matters is that, once they have crossed the river, the men will have no other choice than to stay where they are. Apart from this, φεύγειν refers to a terminative action: ἔφυγεν, normally, refers to someone who escapes, ἔφευγεν to someone who is on the run. In [147], the speaker's aim is to give the men no opportunity to run away, rather then to prevent them from *escaping*. Along the same lines, μεῖναι would have conveyed the intention of forcing them to *succeed* in resisting their enemies (which, of course, is impossible), while μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι conveys no more than that they will have to face them: this will force them to do their best, and thereby will increase the chance of success.

[148] τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ *φυγεῖν* ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. (VIII.76²)

The object of these movements was that the Greeks might be prevented even from escaping, and might be cut off in Salamis, and there give the Persians their revenge for their fighting off Artemisium.

Here, φυγεῖν has focus function: the object of the Persians' putting out to sea is to prevent the Greeks from *escaping*. The presence of μηδέ[154] conveys that the Greeks, presumably, would have been happy to escape, but even *that* cannot be tolerated: they are to be cut off, so as to atone for what they have done to the Persians.

[149] ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους *ἀρνέεσθαι*. (I.24⁷)

On their return he sent for them, and asked if they had anything to tell him about Arion. 'Oh yes', they answered, 'we left him safe and sound at Tarentum in Italy'. Then Arion himself appeared, just as he was when he jumped overboard. This was an unpleasant shock for the sailors: now that the lie was detected, further denial was out of the question.

As far as I can see, Stork (331) has hit the nail on the head by observing that the sailors, who have denied that they had wronged Arion in any way, now that he is suddenly brought forward, cannot *go on* doing so. So the prominent element is (οὐκ ἔχειν) *ἔτι*: denying, from now on, was no longer possible.

[150] ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνῆγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δοὺς ἀνιῷτο ἢ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ Ἄμασις τῇ δυνάμι τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε *ἀρνήσασθαι*. (III.1²)

It was this grudge that made the Egyptian suggest to Cambyses that he should ask for Amasis' daughter in marriage, knowing that consent would cause the Egyptian king personal distress, and that refusal would embroil him with Cambyses. Amasis, who regretted the power of Persia and was afraid, found himself unable to say either yes or no.

Focus function is to be assigned both to δοῦναι and to ἀρνήσασθαι, if only because there are no other candidates to fill the part.

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[154] Powell's edition has μή.

7.1.3. *'Effect'/'Hinder'*

Stork's instances of this category are the following:

> [151] πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι· καταφοιτῶντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἅπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράϊζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι *ἐπιτίθεσθαι*, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον μήτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ. (VII.125)
>
> I am puzzled at what it could have been that made the lions ignore every other living creature and set only upon the camels – beasts which they had never seen, or had any experience of, before.

It seems obvious that τῇσι καμήλοισι has focus function.

> [152] ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε *ἐπιθέσθαι* τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, λέγων τάδε· (III.145²)
>
> Maeandrius, on being told of this, sent word to have his brother taken out of gaol and brought to him. The moment he arrived he began with much violence and abusive language to urge Maeandrius to set upon the Persians.

Maeandrius' has professed himself willing to let the Persians restore the exiled Syloson. His brother now urges him not to tolerate this, but to *attack* the Persians.

> [153] τέως μὲν δή σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε *ἐπιθέσθαι* τοῖσι δεσπότῃσι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν. (VI.83²)
>
> Cleander persuaded the slaves to attack theri masters. The result was a protracted struggle, and it was with much difficulty that the Argives finally got the upper hand.

This instance is, in all relevant respects, similar to [152].

> [154] ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε· ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς *ποιέειν*; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις; (I.159³)
>
> While he was doing this, he heard a voice from the innermost shrine, saying: "Impious wretch, how dare you do this wicked thing? Would you destroy those who have come to my temple for protection?"

The issue is that Aristodicus is engaged in doing something he ought not to do. So the prominent element is τάδε, specified by τοὺς ἱκέτας ... κεραΐζεις.

[155] ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἤν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων *ποιέεσθαι* μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἀκούσας. (VIII.60A)

It is now in your power to save Greece, if you take my advice and engage the enemy's fleet here, in Salamis, instead of withdrawing to the Isthmus.

Themistocles is focussing, not on whether to fight or not to fight the Persians, but on the right place to engage their fleet.

[156] τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων *ποιήσασθαι* διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. (VII.144[1-2])

On that occasion, Themistocles persuaded them to give up the idea of distributing the money, and, to spend it on the construction of two hundred warships.

Substituting ποιεῖσθαι for ποιήσασθαι would limit the focus to the ships as such. But Themistocles is contrasting just handing out the money with using it for building a fleet.

[157] ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἓν πόλισμα *ποιήσασθαι* καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἧσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. (I.98[3])

Once firmly on the throne, Deioces put pressure on the Medes to build a single city and to fortify it more strongly than all the rest.

The instance is comparable to [156]. The expressions ἀναγιγνώσκω / ἀναγκάζω + infinitive can, from a viewpoint of semantic content, be compared to an Imperative in direct speech. *ποιεῖσθε ἓν πόλισμα would be appropriate if the Medes either were engaged already in building a city ('go on making one single city'), or were just being invited to execute an order they already have been given at an earlier moment. AS, however, is the idiomatic way for saying: 'I order you to make one single city'.[155]

As to the PS infinitive ἐπιμέλεσθαι: it is appropriate since Ecbatana as an object of special care is contrasted with other cities. So one may, perhaps, rewrite Deioces' order as: *ποιησάμενοι ἓν πόλισμα τούτου ἐπιμέλεσθε μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πολισμάτων.

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[155] For the imperative see Sicking 1991, 156 ff.: 'With reference to the imperative we may speak of focus function in proportion as a verb informs the person addressed as to *what* is expected of him or her.'

[158] (...) οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη κάλλεϊ καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα *μὴ ποιέειν* μηδ' ἢν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, κτλ. (VIII.144[1-2])

There is not so much gold in the world nor land so fair that we would take it as pay for joining the common enemy and bringing Greece into subjection. There are many compelling reasons against our doing so, even if we wished: the first and greatest is the burning of the temples and images of our gods, (...)

The topic of the Athenians' speech is whether they will make terms with the Persian enemy. From πολλά τε γὰρ ἄλλα onwards, the speaker is focussing on the many reasons there are for not doing so. So ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν merely resumes μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

[159] ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ταῦτα *μὴ ποιέειν*, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὄπισθε στὰς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. (II.161[4]–162[1])

Apries sent Amasis to try to argue the rebels into submission, and while Amasis was doing his best to do so, a man who was standing behind him put a helmet on his head, and said that he was crowning him king.

The passage is to be analysed in the same way as [158].

[160] ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε *μὴ ποιῆσαι* ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, κτλ. (I.158[1-2])

The messengers returned home to report, and the citizens of Cymae were prepared in consequence to give up the wanted man. But just as they were about to do so, one of their number, a man of repute called Aristodicus, restrained them from actually doing so, because, as he said, he had his doubts about the oracle's answer and thought the messengers had not reported it correctly.

The expression ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα can, from a viewpoint of content, be rewritten as: *μὴ ποιήσητε ταῦτα – which would be appropriate because Aristodicus is not asking the Cumaeans to stop doing something, but is restraining them from actually doing what they are inclined to do.

PART II

THE SYNTHETIC PERFECT IN CLASSICAL GREEK

BY

C.M.J. SICKING

AND

P. STORK

PREFACE

Even after many generations of scholars, agreement about the semantic value of the Greek Perfect has still to be reached. Apart from the complexity of the subject, at least two other factors seem to have contributed to this situation:

– It is generally believed that, in the course of the history of ancient Greek (from Homer to the *koine* period), the morphology, the use and the distribution of the perfect have been subject to change. In later Greek, the synthetic Perfect has disappeared: ἔχει γράψει (or ἔχει γραμμένο) has been substituted for γέγραφε, εἶναι γραμμένο (or ἔχει γραφῆ) for γέγραπται. From a morphological point of view, only the Passive participle has survived. Understandably, scholars have attempted to connect these two parts of the history of the Perfect, and to explain the disappearance of the synthetic Perfect in terms of its characteristics and development in the classical and hellenistic period. An adequate synchronic analysis of the synthetic Perfect in classical Greek should, however, precede an attempt to explain its further development and final disappearance.

– Descriptions of the semantic value and use of the Perfect are usually illustrated rather than substantiated by a relatively small number of examples. Scholars who have gone to the trouble of comparing the relative frequency of different uses of the Perfect, have done so on a rather high level of aggregation. This, however, is a risky way of proceeding. Someone who believes, for instance, that the development of the Perfect in the early classical period is characterized by a gradually rising frequency of the Active Perfect, will, perhaps, consider this belief to be corroborated by the observation that 69.6% of the 1102 Perfect forms in Sophocles, as against 49% of the 583 Perfect forms in Aeschylus, are Active perfects. In order to determine the productivity of the Active Perfect, one should, however, count the number of verbal lexemes in the case of which an Active Perfect is attested rather than the number of Active Perfect forms. So it is relevant to know, for instance, that out of 767 Active Perfect forms in Sophocles no less than 255 are forms of οἶδα, Aeschylus having 83 forms of οἶδα.

For reasons of this nature we have considered it worthwhile to make an attempt at an analysis of the use and distribution of the Perfect in the classical period, based on the *complete* relevant material in the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (tragic poetry); Aris-

tophanes (comic poetry), Thucydides (historical prose), and Lysias (rhetorical prose), supplemented with Xenophon's *Opuscula* (various prose types). We have taken our point of departure from the uses to be found in Homer, and, in some cases examples from other authors (notably Plato, Menander and Demosthenes) have been taken into account. Hopefully, we will not be found liable to the reproach of mixing up the diachronic and the synchronic point of view.

We have followed the advice given by Denniston in the Preface to his *Greek Particles*: 'The reader should be enabled to *bathe* in examples', and have cited more examples than most previous writers on the subject have done – in some cases we discuss the complete evidence from our *corpus*. We have not restricted ourselves to quoting the one clause or sentence that contains the Perfect form in question, but have printed as much of the context as seemed relevant, so as to enable the reader to form his own judgment on our interpretation. This seemed the more important because, in a fair number of cases, current interpretations of Perfect forms have been based on incomplete quotations and can be seen to be untenable once the wider context is taken into account.

It has been our express aim to derive our criteria for adopting one or the other way of presenting our data from the structure and characteristics of the material itself. As a consequence, we have excluded from our treatment of the semantics of the Perfect as such the data on the Pluperfect and the Future Perfect. We will deal with some uses of the Pluperfect in narrative texts elsewhere.[1] A separate treatment of the Future Perfect seemed unnecessary: it is infrequent anyhow, and we see as yet no reason to contest the general opinion that it 'puts into the future the perfect notion' (Moorhouse 202).

We have added a generous amount of tabular overviews as well as an Index Locorum. Together, these should enable the reader to detect for himself whether a priori beliefs have distorted our conclusions. At the same time, they will facilitate further research both into the use of the Perfect in the classical period and into the question of whether the fourth century and/or hellenistic material shows characteristics different from those we hope to have established.

We cherish the hope that our results will contribute not only to the understanding of the Greek language system as such, but also to what is, after all, one of the chief tasks of a classical philologist: the interpretation of the texts. The better one understands the system

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[1] C.M.J. Sicking & P. Stork, 'The Narrative Function of Present and Pluperfect', in: E. J. Bakker (ed.), *Grammar and Interpretation*. Leiden 1997.

which underlies classical Greek, the more one may hope to establish the criteria which guided a Sophocles or a Thucydides in expressing themselves the way they did.

CMJS
PS

NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The morphemes which mark a verb form as an Aorist, a Perfect &c. are always bound up with a verbal lexeme. Consequently, one and the same semantic value may result in different interpretations, according to the meaning (or: denotation) and/or the referent of the verb in question. Moreover, different interpretations may be required in different contexts. The Aorist ἐνόσησε, for instance, when occurring together with an adjunct like 'for several days' requires the interpretation 'was sick'. Together with a different adjunct, like, for instance, 'after having come home', the interpretation 'he fell sick' is to be preferred. ἔπεισε is no less of an Aorist than ἐνόσησε; nevertheless, when we find it together with an adjunct such as 'after several hours' we do not translate 'he started persuading' but 'he succeeded in persuading', or something of the sort. It will be clear that, in cases like these, we are dealing, not with several distinguishable 'meanings', 'values' or 'senses' but with different *interpretations* of one and the same value of the Aorist marker.

So, in order to minimalize the risk of misunderstanding, it will be convenient to use different terms for different aspects of meaning. We will use

1. *meaning* for the denotation ('lexical meaning') of a verb;
2. *value* for the semantic contribution of a Perfect marker, and
3. *interpretation* for the final result of combining the data provided by meaning, value and context.

Two further distinctions to be made are those between

1. the *meaning* (or *denotation*) of a verb (or verb form) and the characteristics of the Situation (or type of Situation) it refers to: one and the same verb, according to its context, can refer to Situations of a different type: e.g., *drank* in *he drank water* refers to a durative Situation, in *he drank a glass of water* to a terminative Situation;[2]
2. *reference* and *presupposition*: if, for instance, 'ἠδίκηκας' implies that the person spoken to previously 'ἠδίκησεν', this in itself does not provide a sufficient ground for assuming that the Perfect form as such does *refer* to (or *denote*) the past action that is *presupposed* to have taken place.

Finally, we have followed Comrie (1976) in using the term *Situation* as a general term for covering 'states', 'processes', 'events' &c. When we have used current English words (such as Perfect, Present, State, Position) in a technical sense, we have printed a capital.

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[2] Cf. Sicking 1991, 39 ff.

1. THE PROBLEM

Scholars seem to be almost unanimous in considering the Greek Perfect to denote the outcome of a past Situation:[3]

- Goodwin (1889, 12): 'The perfect represents an action as already finished at the present time.'
- Kühner-Gerth (1898, I, 148): The perfect denotes 'den durch die Vollendung der Thätigkeitsäusserung eingetretenen Zustand.'
- Gildersleeve (1900, 98-9): 'The perfect tense expresses completion in the present' and: 'The perfect is largely used in Greek for the maintenance of the result.'
- Brugmann-Thumb (1913, 566): 'Der Indicativus Perfecti bezeichnete den durch eine Handlung erreichten Zustand.'
- Weir Smyth (1918, 434): 'The perfect denotes a completed action the effects of which still continue in the present.'
- Moorhouse (1982, 197): 'The perfect tense basically had reference to the present state of the subject, which results from a previous, completed action or experience.'
- Rijksbaron (1994, 1): 'the perfect stem signifies both that a state of affairs is completed and that as a result a state exists (stative-confective value).'
- Ruijgh (1991, 208): 'la valeur fondamentale du thème du parfait consiste à exprimer l'état résultant de l'achèvement de l'action' and: the Perfect 'exprime en principe à la fois l'achèvement de l'action et la présence de l'état qui en résulte'.

For those who – as we do not – describe the contrast between Aorist- and Present-stem forms as a contrast between 'completed' and 'not completed', this way of defining the Perfect value results in a neat contrast between Perfect and Aorist: see, e.g., Kühner-Gerth (I, 153): 'Der Aorist bildet (...) einen Gegensatz einerseits zum Imperfekt, das die Handlung als eine noch nicht abgeschlossene in ihrem Verlaufe vor Augen führt, andererseits zum Perfekt und Plusquamperfekt, die die abgeschlossene Handlung als in ihren Wirkungen fortbestehend darstellen.'

1.1. *The so-called* perfectum intensivum

If we accept that the Perfect denotes a present Situation which results from a previous Situation, the question arises how this definition is to be applied to instances like τέθηλε, πεφόβημαι. According to

[3] Cf. Comrie's general definition of the Perfect as 'the continuing relevance of a previous situation' (56).

many scholars, instances like these must be classified as a separate use of the Perfect. The relation of this use to other uses is, however, problematic: 'by the operation of a non-transformative verb such as γηθῶ, no change is brought about, and the corresponding perfect cannot therefore indicate a state resulting from a change' (Moorhouse 199).

The existence of a separate 'intensive' Perfect has been expressly denied by Chantraine: 'Rien n'autorise à constituer une classe de parfaits intensifs comme type particulier de parfaits. La distinction est artificielle, et il faut l'abandonner' (1927, 17). Many scholars, however, express themselves as if two separate and distinct values are to be distinghuished: cf., e.g., Schwyzer-Debrunner 286: 'Der Ind. Perf. war *sowohl in der intensiven Bedeutung als in der Bedeutung des erreichten Zustandes* der Zeit nach präsentisch' (our italics). Moorhouse (199) reckons with a 'normal use' and an 'intensive use', and tries to account for the latter by observing that 'the past notion which is implicit in the perfect refers to the beginning of the action, and the 'present state' refers to its continuing, indicating a set course of action' – thus implicitly accepting a solution which was doubted already by Kühner-Gerth (149, Anm. 2): 'Aus dem Begriff der vollendeten Handlung lässt sich das sogenannte intensive Perfekt nur dann ableiten, wenn man nicht von der präsentischen sondern von der aoristischen Handlung ausgeht.'

Ruijgh takes it that, with verbs 'qui, à eux seuls, expriment déjà une espèce d'état', the Perfect expresses 'une nuance intensive': 'type τέθηλε 'il est en pleine floraison''. In his view this 'nuance' can easily be related to the basic value of the perfect: 'la nuance intensive repose simplement sur la valeur statique-résultative du parfait: un parfait comme τέθηλε signale l'état qui est le plus haut degré du procès verbal, et qui, par conséquent est le résultat de l'accomplissement des degrés antérieurs' (1971, 249).[4]

In Ruijgh 1991, Ruijgh has somewhat modified his view on Perfect forms that correspond with Present durative actions: 'lorsque le thème verbal exprime lui–même un état, le théme du parfait exprime qu'à un moment donné, il y a un état *profondément enraciné*, qui est pour ainsi dire le résultat du pronlongement continu de l'état jusqu'au moment donné' (211), as in τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις

[4] This is also the view of Rijksbaron (1994, 36). His examples: 'ἡγοῦμαι "believe, think", ἥγημαι "be firmly convinced"; φοβοῦμαι "be afraid", πεφόβημαι "be terrified"; σιωπῶ "be silent", σεσιώπηκα "maintain complete silence".' According to Slings (1988, 76), Dem. XIX.3: θαρρῶ καὶ πάνυ πιστεύω and Dem. XXI.221: τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦτ' οἶδε καὶ θαρρεῖ καὶ πεπίστευκε together would support an interpretation along these lines.

τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας *ἐμμεμένηκεν* (Thuc. 1.5[3]: ('et ainsi l'usage de porter les armes a toujours persisté jusqu'ici chez les peuples continentaux à partir de l'ancienne piraterie'), and τί δήποτε; ὅτι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦτ' οἶδε καὶ θάρρει καὶ *πεπίστευκε* τῇ πολιτείᾳ, μηδέν' ἕλξειν μηδ' ὑβριεῖν μηδὲ τυπτήσειν (Dem. XXI.221: 'il a de l'assurance et il a toujours eu confiance jusqu'ici'), as opposed to Dem. XIX.20: τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξελέγχειν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεποιηκότα τουτονὶ καὶ τῆς ἐσχατῆς ὄντα τιμωρίας ἄξιον θαρρῶ καὶ *πάνυ πιστεύω* ('j'ai de l'assurance et j'ai une confiance *totale*').

1.2. *Perfect and tense*

The Perfect has a Preterite and a Future of its own (λέλυμαι, ἐλελύμην, λελύσομαι), but it has itself an ambivalent relation to the category 'tense':

– Some Perfect forms alternate with Present forms, others alternate with preterite forms.[5] For the alternation of Perfect and Present cf., for instance,

[1] ὤμοι, *φοβοῦμαι* τὸ προσέρπον (S. *Ai.* 228)

and

[2] σὲ δ' ὅταν πληγὴ Διὸς ἢ ζαμενὴς
λόγος ἐκ Δαναῶν κακόθρους ἐπιβῇ/
μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ *πεφόβημαι*
πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας (S. *Ai.* 137-140)

and, from 4th century texts,

[3] ὅτι τε γάρ, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τις ἡμῶν ἀποθάνῃ, ἀεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν, *φοβοῦνται*, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέρχεται, καὶ τοῦτο *πεφόβηνται* (Pl. *Crat.* 403b4 ff.)

and

[4] ὥστε καὶ *σιγῶ* καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν *σεσίγηκας*, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας· λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅταν σοι δοκῇ, οὐδ' ἂν βούλῃ, ἀλλ' ὅταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν (Aeschin. III.218).

Perfect and Aorist are coordinated in

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[5] Usually, the possibility of Perfect forms alternating with Imperfect forms is not taken into consideration. There is, however, *a priori* no reason why substituting a Preterite for a Perfect form could not result in an Imperfect. Cf. for instance, Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων (Thuc. 1.1[1]), and γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης ἑξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο (Thuc. V.26[1]): in the latter case ἔγραφε (rather than ἔγραψε) would seem to be the natural choice.

[5] ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν *ἔβην* καὶ ἐμῆς *ἀπελήλυθα* πάτρης (Ω 766).

Compare also

[6] περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος *βεβλασφήμηκε* περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω (Dem. XVII.I.10)

with

[7] ἀμφότερ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξω ψευδομένους ἅ θ' αὐτοὺς ἐνεκωμίασαν καὶ ὅσ' εἰς ἡμᾶς *ἐβλασφήμησαν* (Dem. LI.3)

or

[8] τί γὰρ βούλεσθ' εἴπω; τὰ πομπεῖ' ὡς *ἐπεσκεύασαν*, καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων καθαίρεσιν, ἢ τὴν τῶν ἰαλῶν ποίησιν τὴν καλήν; (Dem. XXII.69)

with

[9] τί γὰρ βούλεσθ' εἴπω; τὰ πομπεῖ' ὡς *ἐπεσκευάκασι*, καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων καθαίρεσιν, ἢ τὴν τῶν ἰαλῶν ποίησιν τὴν καλήν; (Dem. XXIV.176).[6]

– If the interpretation of a Perfect such as ἀκηκόατε has to be 'ihr habt gehört und wißt nun' (Kühner-Gerth), the question arises whether, apart from referring to a present State, the Perfect also refers to the Situation which preceded this State. Cf. the examples of a Perfect 'for an action that is dated' (quoted by Gildersleeve 101):

[10] Ἕκτωρ γὰρ τοῖς Τρωσὶ παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τάδε *εἴρηκεν* (Lycurg. 103)

and

[11] *ὕβρισμαι* μὲν ἐγὼ καὶ *προπεπηλάκισται* τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν τότε, ἀγωνιεῖται δὲ καὶ κριθήσεται τὸ πρᾶγμα νυνί (Dem. XXI.7).

1.3. *'Parfait résultatif'*

According to Wackernagel and Chantraine (1927), the Perfect basically and originally denotes the present State of the subject: 'Le parfait a donc en propre une seule valeur qui en définit l'aspect: il signifie l'état.' (1927, 8) In their view, we have to distinguish a resultative Perfect – being first fully developed in the course of the fifth century B.C. – which denotes the continuing effects of a past Situation upon the *object*: 'en même temps que la référence au passé devient sensible, le parfait, généralement intransitif, a pu être suivi d'un complément à l'accusatif (...) Ces divers emplois ont conduit à

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[6] Cf. ἀντεπέγραψεν (Dem. XXIV.180), ἀντεπιγέγραφεν (Dem. XXII.72)

la création du parfait dit 'résultatif', qui exprime non l'état du sujet, mais le résultat qui porte sur l'objet, et qui finira, au cours de l'histoire du grec, à équivaloir à peu près à un aoriste emphatique' (Chantraine 1963, 197-9). The value of this type of Perfect being hard to distinguish from that of the Aorist, this development is supposed to have resulted in the elimination of the (synthetic) Perfect from the Greek language system.[7]

Chantraine's view has not remained unchallenged. McKay (1965) has shown that many – if not all – so-called 'resultative' perfect forms actually refer to the present State of the subject, such as, for instance, Pind. *Isthm.* IV.39-43, quoted by Chantraine as the oldest example of the 'new' resultative sense of the Perfect:

[12] ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι *τετίμακεν* δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει.
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι·

where the following context makes it clear that τετίμακεν characterizes Homer's contribution to the fame of Ajax rather than Ajax's fame itself.[8]

Rijksbaron has pointed out that Chantraine's description of the semantic development of the Perfect seems to neglect the existence of the Passive Perfect, which, of course, is the normal way of referring to a State of the *object* or Patient. Cf., for instance,

[13] *γέγραφε* δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἑξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο (Thuc. v.26[1])

and

[14] ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος *γέγραπται* (Thuc. v.24[2]).[9]

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[7] Cf. Schwyzer-Debrunner 287: 'Mit der Entwicklung des Resultativperfekts tritt jedoch die Handlung, die zu dem erreichten Zustand führt, stärker ins Bewußtsein als dieser selbst, und so wird der Ind. Perf. in hellenistischer Zeit gleichwertig mit dem Ind. Aor., dem er im Beginn der christlichen Zeit das Feld räumt.'

[8] Cf., for instance, Thuc. I.21[1]: ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασιν περὶ αὐτῶν, and the way εἴρηκε, σεσίγηκε (cf. note 39) &c.are used for referring to what past writers 'say' or do not say.

[9] Following up a suggestion by Chantraine (1927, 177 f.), Rijksbaron (1984, 412-3) suggests that the transitive active Perfect stresses the responsibility of the Agent for what he has done. He explains the relative infrequency of 'Agent-directed' Perfect forms derived from transitive verbs in Homeric Greek by the observation that in Homeric society there is little or no room for making individuals personally responsible for what they have done. Cf. Section 5.2.4.2.

2. PERFECT AND MIDDLE VOICE[10]

In Homeric Greek,[11] morphologically Active Perfects frequently correspond with a Middle-Passive[12] Present (ἔολπα ~ ἔλπομαι, δέδορκα ~ δέρκομαι, γέγονα ~ γίγνομαι, ὄρωρα ~ ὄρνυμαι, ἑάλωκα ~ ἁλίσκομαι, ἀπόλωλα ~ ἀπόλλυμαι, δέδυκα ~ δύομαι, πέποιθα ~ πείθομαι, πέπηγα ~ πήγνυμαι, σέσηπα ~ σήπομαι &c.). In those cases where both Active and Middle-Passive Present forms occur (e.g., ἐγείρω ~ ἐγείρομαι), the Perfect usually corresponds, not with the Passive, but with the Middle interpretation, as in ἐγείρονται ('they wake up') ~ ἐγρηγόρθασι ('they are awake'). When a morphologically Active Present corresponds with a Perfect, there is, normally, no Middle-Passive Present (γηθῶ ~ γέγηθα, θάλλω ~ τέθηλα, φρίσσω ~ πέφρικα &c.).

In Chantraine's analysis of the morphological development of the Perfect, three subsequent stages are distinghuished: 1) originally, the Perfect characteristically had Active forms;[13] 2) subsequently, Middle-Passive Perfect forms were introduced; 3) finally, a systematic opposition has been created of transitive Active Perfect forms versus Passive Perfect forms (πείθω ~ πέπεικα, πείθομαι ~ πέπεισμαι).

Regarding the way the introduction of Middle-Passive forms took place, Chantraine[14] observes that, in Homeric Greek, with a substantial number of verbs, Active Perfect forms and Middle-Passive Perfect forms are used indiscriminately – at least from a semantic point of view. He further observes that the Middle-Passive forms are predominantly pluperfects and/or participles (for instance, ἔικτο ~ ἔοικα, ἐρέριπτο ~ κατερήριπεν, εἵμαρτο ~ ἔμμορε, πεφυγμένος ~ πεφευγότες, δεδαημένος ~ δεδαώς). Following up a suggestion by Meillet he concludes from this that morphological considerations have been at work: 'On ne pouvait bâtir un plus-que-parfait en ajoutant simplement à un thème *(ϝ)οιδ-, abstrait de (ϝ)οιδα, les désinences secon-

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[10] For a rather sketchy treatment of the outlines of the subject see also Comrie's chapter on 'Aspect and Voice'.

[11] For a survey of the evidence for what is said in this paragraph see Chantraine 1927 and 1963.

[12] We will use the term 'middle–passive' (as opposed to 'active') when referring to the *morphological* characteristics of verb forms, 'middle' c.q. 'passive' when referring to a middle or passive *interpretation*.

[13] Archaic Greek shows some vestiges of what seems to have been the situation in PIE, such as μ 423: βοὸς ῥινοῖο τετευχώς ('made of').

[14] 1927, Ch. III: 'Introduction de la flexion moyenne.'

daires; la phonétique aurait complètement défiguré la forme'.[15] So the language resorted to the old flexion type we know from a series like, for instance, φησι, φάτο, φάμενος.[16]

Taken together, these observations give ground for assuming that, originally, the Perfect tense and the Middle Voice had some semantic affinity with each other, or, more precisely, that there was a certain overlap between the semantic fields which were covered by the Perfect and the Middle. This assumption can be further substantiated by the observation that newly created Perfect forms are predominantly Middle-Passive Perfect forms.[17] Finally, it may be relevant that Dionysius Thrax (Uhlig 49) cites πέπηγα and διέφθορα (together with ἐποιησάμην and ἐγραψάμην) as instances of the category μεσότης. A hypothesis regarding the basic semantic value of the Perfect therefore gains in plausibility if it will enable us to account for the semantic affinity between the Perfect and the Middle.

2.1. *The semantic value of the Middle Voice*

Regarding the semantic content of the contrast between the Middle and Active Voices no consensus has so far been reached.[18] Among the variety of opinions, two main views can be distinguished.

According to Schwyzer-Debrunner (229), 'Das Aktiv drückt rein sachlich den nackten Tatbestand des Verbalinhaltes aus, das Medium außer diesem Tatbestand noch eine besondere Beteiligung des (überwiegend persönlichen) Subjekts am Verbalinhalt.' Cf. Moorhouse 177: 'The middle voice underlines the participation or interest of the subject in the action or state described, or its effect on him' and Hummel 210: 'Le moyen se caractérise comme une diathèse centripète où le premier actant est directement impliqué par le procès.' This view is, however, open to several objections:

– It seems preposterous to relegate to the semantic periphery[19] of the Middle Voice the numerous and characteristic uses of Middle verb forms for Situations involving an inanimate subject. Cf., for in-

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[15] P. 57.

[16] See Chantraine 87 ff.

[17] A fine instance of the affinity between Perfect and middle-passive morphology is Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.vii.10: ὑμᾶς δὲ (...) οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτιμᾶν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμῆσθαι (not: προτιμᾶσθαι).

[18] The primary contrast being that between active and middle: 'das Griechische hat auf keiner Entwicklungsstufe die scharfe Antithese Aktiv : Passiv erreicht' (Schwyzer-Debrunner 238).

[19] For this use of the term 'periphery' (as opposed to 'prototypical') cf., for instance, Bakker 1988.

stance, νῶιν δὴ τόδε πῆμα κυλίνδεται (Λ 347), χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο (Α 529), γούνατα δ' ἐρρώσαντο, πόδες δ' ὑπερικταίνοντο (ψ 3), κῦμα θαλάσσης | ῥήγνυτο (Σ 67), and a case like αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος (π 294).

– Precisely in those cases which, according to Schwyzer-Debrunner, are typical instances of the supposed basic value of the Middle, archaic Greek shows the Middle as well as the Active expression. See the instances quoted by Chantraine:[20]

[15] σπόγγῳ δ' ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' *ἀπομόργνυ*,
αὐχένα τε στιβαρὸν καὶ στήθεα λαχνήεντα (Σ 414-5)

and

[16] (...) τὴν δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε,
καί ῥ' *ἀπομόρξατο* χερσὶ παρειά (σ 200)

or

[17] ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων *ἐπέδειξεν* βίαν (Pind. *Nem.* 11.14)

and

[18] γυίων ἀέθλοις *ἐπεδείξαντο* κρίσιν (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.253) &c.[21]

It seems, then, preferable to see whether we can work out the consequences of the kind of description proposed, for instance, by Benveniste:[22] 'Dans l'actif, les verbes dénotent un procès qui s'accomplit à partir du sujet et hors de lui. Dans le moyen, qui est la diathèse à définir par opposition, le verbe indique un procès dont le sujet est le siège; le sujet est intérieur au procès', and, in a modified form, by Gerritsen,[23] who defines the value of the Middle as referring to situations where 'the subject is both the starting and the terminal point of the causal chain of events described in the sentence'.[24]

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[20] 1963, 173.

[21] The description given by Schwyzer-Debrunner seems, at first sight, to be supported by some difficult cases like ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὴν χεόμην πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν (λ 26). We have, however, to realize that, probably, no description will ever account for each and every single example.

[22] 1967, 245. Cf. Gonda: '(...) the 'original' or 'essential' function of the medial voice was (...) to denote that a process is taking place with regard to, or is affecting, happening to a person or a thing'; 'a process is taking place to a person who (...) is the subject (...) without any agens being mentioned.'

[23] P. 37.

[24] According to Bakker 1994, the overall value of the middle is to be described as the interaction of two opposed forces: (i) '*coding* (of the inherent properties of an event)' and (ii) '*expression* (of meaning by form)' (24).'The meaning of the middle in Ancient Greek has to be stated in terms of a basic value (*affectedness*) that acquires its specific value only in combination with the event-type denoted by the verb', 'event-types' being 'differentiated on the basis of the transitivity-related features of volition, agency and causation.'.

A large number of prototypical Middle Situations is constituted by those instances where a Middle form refers to a *one-place Situation* which involves the 'non-volitional affectedness of a subject':[25] a Situation of this kind is not 'controllable' by the subject, i.e. its subject is not capable of bringing or not bringing it about. The corresponding Active expressions denote two-place situations which involve an Agent as well as a Patient.[26]

Characteristic pairs are, for instance, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλον ἐγείρομεν (K 146) ~ ἔγρετο ('woke up') δὲ Ζεύς (O 4); μέμασαν δὲ μάλιστα τεῖχος (...) ῥήξειν (M 197-8) ~ περὶ δέ σφισι κῦμα θαλάσσης ῥήγνυτο (Σ 66-7); πῦρ δὲ Μενοιτιάδης δαῖεν μέγα (I 211) ~ ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἀκάματον πῦρ (...) δαιόμενον· τὸ δὲ δαῖε θεά, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (Σ 225-7); ἄασαν μ' ἕταιροι (...) κακοί (κ 68) ~ ἀασάμην (I 116) &c.

This use of the Middle makes it possible to explain why it is that Middle-Passive forms often lend themselves for a *Passive interpretation*: Passive situations, after all, can be defined as Situations which both involuntarily affect the subject (or Patient) and are initiated by an Agent.

When a two-place Situation is referred to by means of an Active expression, there is an Agent who acts upon an external Patient.

[19] ἅπαντας τὰ μέγιστα ἔβλαψαν ἀνθρώπους (Pl. *Ep.* VII, 335e5).

When a Middle-Passive expression is used, a Passive interpretation is bound up with the involvement of both an Agent and a Patient:

[20] χωρίον ὅθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων οὐ βλάψονται ἄξια λόγου (Thuc. v.64[1]).

A Middle interpretation is called for when no Agent is involved:

[21] ἠδὲ κιχάνει
δίψα τε καὶ λιμός, βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ' ἰόντι (T 165-6),

or when the involvement of the Agent is irrelevant:

[22] νῦν ὤλετο πᾶσα (...) Ἴλιος (N 772-3).

So a Passive interpretation is clearly beside the point in

[23] ἄγοντες ἄνδρα τότε μὲν ἀθλιώτατον
νῦν δ' εἴ τιν' ἄλλον μακάριον κεὐδαίμονα
(...) ἔπειτ' ἐλοῦμεν. – νὴ Δί' εὐδαίμων ἄρ' ἦν
ἀνὴρ γέρων ψυχρᾷ θαλάττῃ λούμενος (Ar. *Plut.* 654-8):

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[25] Bakker 1994, 30.

[26] Agent: 'initiator and performer of an action'; Patient: 'undergoer of an action or causation' (quoted from Gerritsen 30).

here the preceding context informs us about the Agent involved, but the speaker focuses on the old Plutus who, involuntarily, 'gets a cold bath'.[27]

Cf. cases like

[24] ὄρεσι γὰρ *περιστεφάνωται* πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη (Hdt. VII.130[1])

where a Passive interpretation is impossible, no Agent being involved.[28]

Middle-Passive forms are frequently used for referring to one- or two-place Situations which can be said to lack the feature 'control', either because they apply to an inanimate subject or, if they apply to a person, because the person who experiences them cannot be considered capable of bringing them about or starting them – although in some cases she/he might, perhaps, try to stop them. In these cases, normally, no corresponding Active expression is available.

Typical examples are αἰσθάνομαι, ἀλάομαι, ἄντομαι, ἄχθομαι, ἄχνυμαι, γάνυμαι, γίγνομαι,[29] δύναμαι, ἔλδομαι, ἐπιδεύομαι, ἔραμαι, (προσ-) ἐρεύγομαι, ἥδομαι, ἠερέθονται, ἡττάομαι ('to be inferior to'), θρυλίχθη (μέτωπον, Ψ 396), ἰνδάλλομαι, χαίνυμαι, καταπύθομαι, λιλαίομαι, μαίνομαι, ὀδύρομαι, ὀδύσσομαι, ὀλοφύρομαι, ὀργίζομαι, ὄσσομαι, (ἐν ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι) πάλτο (Ο 645), (ἀγκῶνας) περιδρύφθη (ψ 395), περισσείοντο (ἔθειραι, Τ 382) περιτέλλομαι, πλανάομαι, ποτάομαι, (λ 222: ψυχὴ δ' ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται), σήπομαι, σκιόωντο, σκύζομαι, τέρπομαι, ὑπολευχαίνομαι, φέβομαι, φέρεσθαι (Leaf ad Ψ 151: 'drift, expressing absence of guidance), χώομαι &c.[30]

Cf. also

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[27] Cf. Lysias 1.9: ὁπότε λοῦσθαι δέοι: 'when the baby had to have its bath': as in [23] we know from the preceding context who is involved as an Agent.

[28] Unless one would see Poseidon (cf. 129[4]) as the Agent.

[29] Apart from expressions of the type *γενοῦ ἀγαθός: 'see to it that you become/behave like an ἀγαθός'.

[30] According to Bakker 1994 the so-called 'media tantum' belong to those middle–passive forms that *code* the 'inherent properties' of the situation. It is, however, to be noted 1) that in some cases, such as, for instance, χαίρω/χαίρομαι (cf. ἥδομαι) we find both the active and the middle–passive form, the latter having been generalized in modern Greek; 2) that there are instances of 'media tantum' that refer to situations which can hardly be described as having 'inherent affectedness', such as, for instance, ἕπομαι.

As to the affinity between Future and middle (ἀποθνήσκει/ἀπέθανε/θανεῖται, πίπτω/πεσοῦμαι) see Bakker 1994, 29 ('on account of its connection with volitionality, Future tense presents an event as a mental disposition, an intention, and this naturally explains the affinity between "middle" and "future", since volitionality as the *sole* transitivity feature of an event [...] involves affectedness') and Kortlandt 1979, 68, who compares cases like ἔδομαι to Bulgarian *spi mi se*, '"het eet–zich–mij", d.w.z. "eten overkomt mij", "ik wil eten"'.

[25] ... μάλιστα μὲν δὴ τοῦ θανόντος ἱμέρῳ,
ὅπως *ἴδοιμ'* ἄθαπτον· οὐ γὰρ *εἰδόμην* (S. *Phil.* 350-1):

up to a point, one can seek to bring about the Situation of seeing something, but nobody can control the situation of *not* having seen something.[31]

With a number of verbs that denote Situations of this type, Homeric Greek has Active Present forms, while in Attic Greek both the Active and the Middle-Passive expression occur.

Cases in point are: κλαίεσθαι ~ κλαίω (A. *Sept.* 920, S. *Trach.* 153), δακρύομαι (A. *Sept.* 814) ~ δακρύω (transitive use at E. *Hel.* 948), γοάομαι ~ γοάω (A. *Pers.* 1073), ποθέομαι ~ ποθέω (S. *Trach.* 632). A tendency to create Middle-Passive expressions for Situations of this type can also be seen from puns like Aristophanes' *πέρδεται* καὶ ῥέγχεται (*Eq.* 115), ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιτο· *χέσαιτο* γάρ, εἰ μαχέσαιτο (*Eq.* 1057) and – from the mouth of Datis, whose name was a byword for poor Greek – ἥδομαι καὶ *χαίρομαι* κεὐφραίνομαι (*Pax* 291). Considering, however, that Homer has both κεχαρηώς and κεχάρητο and Attic Greek both κεχάρηκα and κεχάρημαι, χαίρομαι is a forgivable case of Δατισμός.

A second important group of Middle verb forms is constituted by those Middle expressions which refer to controllable *two-place Situations* involving one person who is both Agent and Patient, such as κόπτομαι, τρέπομαι, γυμνάζομαι, λούομαι, ἀλείφομαι, or, with a plural subject, λοιδοροῦνται, ἀσπάζονται. In these cases, the action both departs from the Agent and returns to it: the subject is the starting point as well as the terminal point of the action.[32] With situations of this type, a Middle interpretation of a Middle-Passive verb form is required when the context makes it clear that no separate Agent is involved: λούεται, 'he/she washes him/herself' as against λούεται ὑπό τινος, 'he/she is being washed by *x*', ἀσπάζονται 'they welcome each other' as against ἀσπάζονται ὑπό τινος, 'they are given a warm welcome by *x*'.

There seems to be a gliding scale, extending from, e.g., *νίψατο* δ' αὐτὸς χεῖρας (Π 230; cf. τ 376: τῷ σε πόδας νίψω) – where the accusa-

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[31] Compare Hdt. I.11[2]: ὡς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μή σε δεῖ (Gyges is to avoid seeing what he has no right to see) to Hdt. II.38[1]: τρίχα ἢν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει (the priest sees a black hair, whether he wants to or not). Cf. also A. *Pers.* 179: ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμην (one can not decide to have or to have not a dream) and E. *Hel.* 118: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὄσσοις εἰδόμην καὶ νοῦς ὁρᾷ (involuntarily seeing something being distinguished from consciously dealing with it).

[32] Cf. Gerritsen 30.

tive can be interpreted as an 'accusativus respectus' – via cases such as ὑπὸ ποσσὶν *ἐδήσατο* καλὰ πέδιλα (α 96) to ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον (...) δεῖπνον τ' *ἐντύνοντο κερῶντό* τε αἴθοπα οἶνον (ο 500) or ἵππους *ἐζεύγνυντ'* ἀνά θ' ἅρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον (γ 492). Cases which belong to the last category are considered by Schwyzer-Debrunner to be prototypical examples of the Middle. If, however, the semantic analysis advocated here is accepted, these cases are rather to be assigned to the periphery of the Middle, because in Situations of this type both a controlling Agent and a Patient are involved: the action departs from the subject, affects another participant, and at the same time returns to its initiator. It is characteristic of this group that it shows a great variety of interpretations. In a number of cases – e.g. γαμῶ ~ γαμοῦμαι, ἀποδίδωμι ~ ἀποδίδομαι, αἱρέω ~ αἱρέομαι – the grammatical opposition has been 'lexicalized'.

It seems, then, safe to conclude that the Middle Voice basically denotes one-place Situations which typically lack the feature 'control' by a human Agent, such as μαίνεται 'he is mad', ἐγείρεται, 'he wakes up', ῥήγνυται, 'it breaks'.

Secondly, Middle verb forms may refer to controllable two-place Situations where no separate Patient is involved, the controlling Agent and the Patient being one and the same person (λούεται). A Passive interpretation is required only when a separate Agent is involved – which results in a contrast between an Active expression for two-place Situations involving a (prominent) Patient ('*x* is washing *y* [not *z*]') and a Passive expression for two-place Situations involving a (prominent) Agent ('*y* is being washed by *x* [not by *z*]').

It is only when controlled two-place Situations involving a separate Patient are referred to that Middle-Passive expressions are used for underlining a special participation or interest of the Agent, such as in ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων *ποιεῦνται* σιτία (Hdt. II.36²).[33]

2.2. *The basic semantic value of the Perfect*

The above sketch of the semantic value of the Middle Voice is not intended as a systematic and full treatment of the subject. It has been given for the purpose of providing a basis for a hypothesis about the semantic value of the Perfect, that will enable us to account for the semantic compatibility of the two categories. If we

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[33] Cf. Rijksbaron 144: 'In the case of many agentive transitive active verbs the middle–passive forms indicate that the Agent has a special interest in the action in which he is involved; (...) Syntactically, this use is characterized by the fact that, in principle, an object is present'.

provisionally take it that Perfect verb forms basically *describe a present State of the* (referent of the) *subject* and if, when doing so, we realize that States characteristically *lack the feature 'control'*, this would explain the overlap of the semantic fields of Perfect and Middle.[34] To take a concrete example:

[26] ἀλλ' ἔστυκας, ὦ μιαρώτατε (Ar. *Lys.* 989)

is a characteristic instance of the use of the Perfect in classical Greek.

[34] Vgl. Schwyzer-Debrunner 263: 'Man darf in solchen (iterativ-)intensiven Bildungen, die *unwillkürliche Zustände und Triebhandlungen eines Subjektes* bezeichnen, die älteste Schicht des aktiven Perfekts sehen' (our italics).

3. FOUR TYPES OF SITUATIONS

In order to determine the consequences of this basic value for interpreting Perfect forms it will be convenient to distinghuish between

- those cases where the corresponding Present or Aorist verb form refers to a Situation that is, c.q. is not, controllable by a human Agent;
- those cases where the corresponding Present or Aorist verb form refers to a Situation that involves, c.q. does not involve, change.

Combining these two parameters we get four types of Situations:[35]

	Control	*Change*	
State	–	–	[to bloom], [to be happy]
Position	+	–	[to be silent], [to keep secret]
Process	–	+	[to die], [to wake up]
Action	+	+	[to leave], [to prepare]

This is, of course, not to say that each and every Situation referred to in a Greek text can be assigned unequivocally to one of these four types of Situation, but only that we consider the features 'control' and 'change' to be relevant to an attempt to map the variety of the actual uses of the Perfect.

Furthermore the following observations can be made:

- Two-place Situations which lend themselves for a Passive expression are either Positions (*'the details were kept secret by the journalist'*) or Actions (*'dinner is being prepared by the cook'*).
- Perfect forms referring to Processes and Actions alternate with the corresponding preterite forms (Aorist, Imperfect), Perfect forms referring to States and Positions alternate with the corresponding Present forms.

In the first stage of the development of the Perfect, Active Perfect forms corresponding with a Present form that refers to a two-place Position or Action are uncommon. When they do occur in Homeric poetry, they typically involve an inanimate subject, and therefore

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[35] The terms *State*, *Process*, *Position*, *Action* have been taken from Pinkster (p. 21). Slings 1994 considers 'states' and 'positions' (under the name of 'activities') to be one group that is to be distinguished from 'achievements' and 'accomplishments'. The parameter 'control' seems, however, indispensable for a semantic description of the Greek Perfect.

lack the feature 'control' (or 'volition') as in K 145 ἄχος *βεβίηκεν* Ἀχαιούς and A 235: [σκῆπτρον] τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι *λέλοιπεν*. This accords with the assumption that Perfect and Middle are semantically related categories – verb forms which refer to two-place Positions and Actions belonging to the periphery of the Middle Voice also.

3.1. *State* (– control, – change)

States are comparable to Positions in that the Present and Perfect forms that go with one and the same verb, in certain respects, can be considered to be coreferential – the important difference being that present Positions are controlled Situations, whereas present States typically lack the feature 'control'. Accordingly, in the case of States, the semantic difference between the Present and the (so-called 'intensive') Perfect sometimes is rather elusive.[36]

The distinctive feature of States referred to by a Perfect form as opposed to those referred to by a Present form appears to be that by a Perfect the State is presented as unalterable or immutable, whereas, when using a Present form, the speaker considers it conceivable that the State he is referring to will be discontinued. Contrast, for instance,

[27] πῶς γάρ, ἥτις εὐγενὴς γυνή,
πατρῷ' ὁρῶσα πήματ' οὐ δρῴη τάδ' ἄν,
ἁγὼ κατ' ἦμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην ἀεὶ
θάλλοντα μᾶλλον ἢ καταφθίνοντ' ὁρῶ (S. *El.* 258-60)

(As we may gather from the presence of ἢ καταφθίνοντα and from 303-4 ['Ορέστην τῶνδε προσμένουσ' ἀεὶ παυστῆρ' ἐφήξειν], Electra still keeps hoping that Orestes will come in order to make an end to the unbearable situation),

and

[28] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκβαλόντες ἀνοσίως ἐμὲ
γελῶσι σῖγ' ἔχοντες, ἡ δ' ἐμὴ νόσος
ἀεὶ *τέθηλε* κἀπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται (S. *Phil.* 258-9)[37]

(Philoctetes can imagine no end to his affliction).

Contrast also

[29] σύ τε καλῶς ἐρωτᾷς, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς καλῶς ἐρωτῶσι *χαίρω* ἀποκρινόμενος (Pl. *Prot.* 318d6-7)

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[36] It has been observed that, in Homeric Greek, the distribution of Perfect and Present forms, in some cases, seems to be motivated not by semantic but by metrical considerations. See Slings 1988, 70 on κεκοτηότι θυμῷ and ἔολπα.

[37] The presence of κἀπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται contradicts the explanation of the 'intensive perfect' given by Ruijgh and Rijksbaron.

(it is a matter of courtesy that one enjoys answering the questions put by one's conversation partner)

with

[30] σὺ δ' οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο *κεχάρηκας* ποιῶν,
ἐκεῖσε μὲν μηκέτι βάδιζ', (...) (Ar. *Vesp.* 764)

(Bdelycleon considers Philocleon's craving for lawsuits to be incurable),

or

[31] ὤμοι *φοβοῦμαι* τὸ προσέρπον (S. *Ai.* 228)

(the speaker tells us that he is afraid)

with

[32] μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ *πεφόβημαι*
πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας (S. *Ai.* 139-40)

(the speaker is describing his fear as an uncontrollable panic).

An analogous difference seems to obtain between

[33] *φρίσσω* δέ σε δερκομένα
μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον (A. *PV* 540-1)

and

[34] τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν
ξυνῆκα καὶ *πέφρικα*, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει
κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξῃκασμένα (A. *Ag.* 1242-4),

between

[35] (...) ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέ τις ἂν μεγάλα διώκων
τὰ παρόντ' οὐχὶ φέροι. *μαι-
νομένων* οἵδε τρόποι καὶ κακοβούλων φωτῶν (E. *Bacch.* 397-401)

(a case of culpable folly),

and

[36] μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολύς,
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς *μεμηνότας* ποιεῖ (E. *Bacch.* 298-301)

(intoxication makes one into a defenceless medium for the god),

and between

[37] Ἥρῃ δ' οὔ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ *χολοῦμαι*·
αἰεὶ γάρ μοι ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν ὅττι νοήσω (Θ 407-8)

(the γάρ-sentence explains why Zeus has decided to stop being angry with Hera)

and

[38] ἀλλὰ Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἀσκελὲς αἰεὶ
Κύκλωπος *κεχόλωται*, (...)
ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἡμεῖς οἵδε περιφραζώμεθα πάντες
νόστον, ὅπως ἔλθῃσι. Ποσειδάων δὲ μεθήσει
ὃν χόλον· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι δυνήσεται ἀντία πάντων,
ἀθανάτων ἀέκητι θεῶν, ἐριδαινέμεν οἶος (α 68-79)

(Poseidon is implacably angered, but Zeus expects that, nevertheless, he will not be able to persist against the will of all the other gods).[38]

3.2. *Position* (+ control, – change)

In the category 'Position' Present and Perfect forms are, in certain respects, co-referential: both σιγᾷ and σεσίγηκε refer to a Situation involving an entity that *is silent*. There is, however, a relatively clear-cut semantic difference between Present and Perfect: σιγᾷ is used to refer to someone keeping silent on purpose/by intent, whereas σεσίγηκε rather fits a State which the speaker observes to obtain and which he considers characteristic of (and therefore unalterable by) the person involved; σεσίγηται tends to have an inanimate subject.

A characteristic example:

[39] ὥστε καὶ *σιγῶ* καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης. σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν *σεσίγηκας*, ἀναλώσας δὲ *κέκραγας*· λέγεις δὲ οὐχ ὅταν σοι δοκῇ, οὐδ' ἂν βούλῃ, ἀλλ' ὅταν οἱ μισθοδόται σοι προστάττωσιν (Aeschin. III.218)[39]

(Aeschines refers to himself as keeping silent c.q. speaking when he wishes to do so [οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει δαπάνης] and describes Demosthenes as someone whose φύσις makes him keep silent

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[38] A possible instance of a 'state'-Perfect referring to a past situation is (...) παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς | γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἄναξ, ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών· | ὃς καὶ Ἰαολκὸν εἷλε (Pind. *Nem.* 3.32-3).

[39] It is relevant to note that the middle–passive σεσίγηται ('be silent'; the passive, 'is kept silent' – e.g. Pind. *O.* 9.103: σεσιγαμένον χρῆμα – is seldom found) is much more common than its active counterpart – the instance quoted in the text being *one of only two instances* from the period before 300 B.C. – the other instance having an inanimate subject: λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα | κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη (Leonidas, *Anth. Gr.* x.1.3-4). In Athenaeus (7.17.14 K.), Galen (11.192.7; 11.197.17), Libanius (who has no less than 17 instances, e.g. *Ep.* 26.1.4; at *Decl.* 171.34 he is alluding to Aeschines) and also in the scholia to Demosthenes and Pindar as well as in Eustathius, σεσίγηκε seems to be the *terminus technicus* for an author keeping silent about something, comparable to πεποίηκε and εἴρηκε referring to a poet (or one of his *dramatis personae*) having written or said something. Two characteristic instances: διὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ φίλου Ἀχιλλέως ὄνομα, δέον εἰπεῖν ἐνταῦθα πρὸς λόγου σαφήνειαν, ὁ δὲ σεσίγηκεν κτλ. (Eustath. 4.707.16); (...) τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἐρασίστρατον οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν πυρετῶν πραγματείᾳ σεσιγηκέναι περὶ τῆς φλεβοτομίας ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁπάσαις (Gal. 11.192.7).

when he has availed himself of the means to satisfy his greed, and shout when he is broke, being the slave of those who pay him).[40]

Some further examples of the same verb:

[40] σύριγγες οὐ *σιγῶσιν* ἀξονήλατοι (A. *Suppl.* 181)

[41] τί *σεσίγηται* δόμος 'Αδμήτου; (E. *Alc.* 78)

[42] ὅτι οὐχ, ἐπειδὰν ἡμεῖς τελευτήσωμεν, καὶ οἱ λόγοι οἱ περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν *σεσιγήσονται* ('will be silent') (Pl. *Ep.* II, 311c1-2)[41]

and

[43] *σεσίγηται* μὲν τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σωφρονέστατον κήρυγμα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει (Aeschin. III.4).

The difference between the Situation in [40], as opposed to [41], [42] and [43], appears to be that οὐ σιγῶσιν refers (with a litotes) to a 'clamour' of war chariots, which is caused by the enemies, who must be stopped by a counterattack, whereas in the other cases the subject refers to an entity which is not capable of beginning or ending the silence. The Middle-Passive Perfects do fit in well with the involvement of an inanimate subject – the clamour of the chariots being different because it symbolizes the aggressive purposes of the enemies who ride them.

A two-place Position is referred to in:

[44] εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, *σπουδάζει* ταῦτα Σωκράτης, ἢ παίζει; (Pl. *Gorg.* 481b6-7)

and in

[45] φαίνεταί σοι φιλοσόφου ἀνδρὸς εἶναι *ἐσπουδακέναι* περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καλουμένας τὰς τοιάσδε, οἷον σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν; (Pl. *Phaed.* 64d2-3),

the relevant difference being that, in [44], the questioner refers to a specific situation, taking it that Socrates, at a specific moment, is at liberty to be either serious or not, whereas [45] suggests that it is characteristic of a philosopher that he is not one of those who are devoted to the pleasures of food and drink.

Contrast also

[46] *φιλεῖ* δέ ἑ μητίετα Ζεύς (B 197)

(Zeus is at liberty to treat some mortals, i.c. a βασιλεύς, as his φίλοι)

with

[40] It will be clear that Rijksbaron's rendering ('to maintain complete silence') does not apply, if only because of οἶμαι.

[41] Cf. 310e1-2: οὔτε ἡ συνουσία ἡμῶν σιγᾶται. μὴ λανθανέτω δέ σε ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον σιγηθήσεται.

[47] ὅσσα δὲ μὴ *πεφίληκε* Ζεύς, ἀτύζονται βοὰν
Πιερίδων ἀΐοντα (Pind. *Pyth.* 1.13).

(Zeus' characteristic attitude towards criminal creatures determines their way of reacting to song),

and the corresponding Passive in

[48] ὥστε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων *πεφιλῆσθαι* οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων (Xen. *An.* 1.ix.28).

Cf. also

[49] οὐ γὰρ ἐλάττους τούτων ἡ πόλις *τετίμηκε* τῶν ἐπὶ Φυλὴν ἐλθόντων καὶ τὸν Πειραῖα καταλαβόντων (Lys. XXVI.17)

and the corresponding Passive in

[50] Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶι *τετιμήμεσθα* μάλιστα
ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὣς εἰσορόωσι; (M 310-12)

and

[51] ἅπαντα μὲν γὰρ πλείονος ἢ ταλάντου *τετίμηνται* (Lys. XVII.7).

3.3. *Process* (– control, + change)

Processes cannot be initiated by the entity involved, and therefore lack the feature 'control'; as they involve the feature 'change', the Perfect forms of the verbs in question alternate with the preterite forms. As a consequence, the semantic difference between Present and Perfect forms is relatively clear-cut: Present forms in this category denote a Process, whereas Perfect forms describe a present State – both the Process and the State being outside the control of the subject.

Only in so far as perfect forms actually alternate with preterite (Aorist) forms the Perfect may refer to a State which is *de facto* the result of a presupposed previous change. Compare, for instance,

[52] οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼν *ὀλόμην* καὶ πότμον ἐπέσπον (λ 197),

(Anticleia focuses on the way she met her end: cf. 198-203)

to

[53] ἤδη γὰρ ἔλπομ' Ἄρηί γε πῆμα τετύχθαι
υἱὸς γάρ οἱ *ὄλωλε* μάχῃ ἔνι, φίλτατος ἀνδρῶν (O 110-1),

(Hera focuses on Ares' present, unalterable situation)

and

[54] οἴχωχ', *ὄλωλα*, διαπεπόρθημαι (S. *Aj.* 896).

In

[55] *τεθνᾶσιν* οἱ θανόντες (E. *Alc.* 541)

a past Process is explicitly distinghuished from the present situation: Alcestis' death is irrevocable, whether or not Admetus does receive Heracles as his guest. Cf. also

[56] οὔτω γὰρ οὐ *τέθνηκας* οὐδέ περ θανών (A. *Cho.* 504)

('in spite of having died, thou art not dead').

That, however, in the case of Processes, the basic semantic difference between Aorist and Perfect is *not* to be described as a contrast between a previous Process or experience and a 'State which results from a previous Process', but rather as a contrast between a (statement of fact regarding a) 'past Process' and a (description of a) 'present State', may be gathered from instances such as:

[57] ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' (sc. the Dioscuri) ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε *τεθνᾶσιν* (λ 303-4)

(each is a living and a dead man on alternate days)

[58] οἱ δ' *ἐγρηγόρθασι* φυλασσέμεναί τε κέλονται
ἀλλήλοις. ἀτὰρ αὖτε πολύκλητοι ἐπίκουροι
εὕδουσι· Τρωσὶν γὰρ ἐπιτραπέουσι φυλάσσειν (K 419-20):

(the Trojans are neither said nor presupposed to 'have woken up', but they are described as being wide awake, as opposed to their allies, who are asleep).

Cf. also

[59] ἣ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα,
νῦν δ' ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν *ἐξέμμορε* τιμῆς (ε 334-5)

(Ino's present privileged situation is contrasted with her former life as a mortal)

and

[60] ἐπεὶ οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίης *ἔμμορε* τιμῆς
σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν (A 278-9):

(a king's right to be treated with deference is an inalienable privilege not to be tampered with).

3.4. *Action* (+ control, + change)

Unlike Processes, both present and past Situations in this category involve an Agent who initiates the change referred to. As in the case of Processes, there is a clear contrast between a present Action (λείπει, for instance) and the corresponding Perfect State (λέλοιπε). In so

far as Perfect forms in this category alternate with preterite (Aorist) forms the subject of the State described by the Perfect sometimes has entered that State inadvertently; more often the State *de facto* results from a change previously brought about by the Agent: at some moment in the past, the Agent was at liberty to decide whether he would perform a certain Action or not, but now that he has done so he cannot go back on what he has done, even if he would prefer to do so.

A characteristic example is

[61] ἤδη γάρ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἐεικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,
ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν ἔβην καὶ ἐμῆς *ἀπελήλυθα* πάτρης (Ω 765-6)

(ἔβην states the previous action, ἀπελήλυθα describes the irreversibility of Helena's having left her mother country and its bitter results).

A comparable instance is:

[62] δακρυρροεῖ δύστηνος ἐξ ὅτου πάτραν
διήνεμον *λέλοιπεν* (S. *Trach.* 325-6).

In the much-quoted instance

[63] Ἥρη τίπτε *βέβηκας*; ἀτυζομένῃ δὲ ἔοικας
ἦ μάλα δή σε φόβησε Κρόνου παῖς, ὅς τοι ἀκοίτης (O 90)

the Perfect seems due to the poet's insisting on the remarkable speed of Hera's journey from Mount Ida to the Olympus: she has 'flied with the speed of thought', and her arrival is so sudden and unexpected that Themis asks why she is standing there, instead of why she did leave the place she comes from.[42]

In

[64] *ἐνδεδύκασι* κιθῶνας λινέους (Hdt. II.81[1])

a preterite would have been totally misplaced – the linen tunic being, so to speak, the hallmark of an Egyptian.

When the subject is inanimate the Perfect is the natural choice, as in

[65] τὸ (a sceptre) μὲν οὔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
φύσει, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι *λέλοιπεν*
οὐδ' ἀναθηλήσει· περὶ γάρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε
φύλλα τε καὶ φλοιόν (A 234-7),

[66] οὐδέ σε πάγχυ γε μῆτις Ὀδυσσῆος *προλέλοιπεν* (β 279),

[67] ἐννέα δὴ *βεβάασι* Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί (B 135),

[42] Chantraine quotes the passage in order to illustrate 'comment le parfait suppose un procès passé'; his paraphrase ('pourquoi es-tu venue et te trouves-tu ici?') brings out precisely the feature Homer apparently intended to suppress.

[68] *βέβακ'* ὄλβος, *βέβακε* Τροία (E. *Troad.* 582),

[69] μὴ νεμέσα· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος *βεβίηκεν* Ἀχαιούς (K 145):

in all these cases an Aorist would have been misplaced, if only because neither the sceptre nor the years, Troy or the ἄχος can easily be seen as Agents of a previous Action.

Contrast also

[70] ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, (...) καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος *ἐπιβέβηκε* (Hdt. I.181[3])

(ἐπιβέβηκε having an inanimate subject and being coordinated with a Middle-Passive Perfect)

with

[71] ἐν τῷ προαστίῳ αὐτῶν *ἐπιβεβηκότων* (Hdt. III.84[3])

(the competitors for the kingship in Persia agree that the crucial moment will be when they, all of them, will be on horseback).

3.4.1. *Resultative Perfect?*

In Chantraine's description of the history of the Perfect two-place Actions which involve a human agent are of crucial importance – the (semantic) difference between Active Aorist and Active Perfect forms supposedly being that the Perfect denotes, not the State of the subject, but the continuing effect of the Action upon the object. A closer look at the actual distribution of Aorist and Perfect forms suggests, however, that in this category too, the Perfect describes the present State of the subject, the Agent of a previous Action being (permanently) characterized by what he/she has done in the past.

Some characteristic examples:

[72] – Ἀπολλόδωρον οὐ γιγνώσκεις τὸν Κυζηνικόν; Ποῖον τοῦτον;
– Ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι πολλάκις ἑαυτῶν στρατηγὸν *ᾕρηνται* ξένον ὄντα· καὶ Φανοσθένη τὸν Ἄνδριον καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Κλαζομένιον, οὓς ἥδε ἡ πόλις ξένους ὄντας, ἐνδειξαμένους ὅτι ἄξιοι λόγου εἰσί, καὶ εἰς στρατηγίας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄγει· (Pl. *Ion* 541c7-d4)

(the speaker explains to his audience that the willingness to make worthy strangers exercise official duties is a characteristic feature of the Athenians);

[73] παρ' οὐδενὸς μὲν πώποτε (...) τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ἐζήτησα διδάσκαλον ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν οὐδένα· διατετέλεκα γὰρ φυλαττόμενος οὐ μόνον τὸ *μαθεῖν* τι παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόξαι *μεμαθηκέναι* τὴν τέχνην ταύτην (Xen. *Mem.* IV.ii.5)

(the speaker tells us that he deliberately avoids both learning from professional doctors and giving the impression of belonging himself to this category);

[74] τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις *τεθεικέναι* τοὺς νόμους τούτους; Ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, θεοὺς οἶμαι τοὺς νόμους τούτους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεῖναι. (Xen. *Mem.* IV.iv.19)

('who is the authority[43] that has laid down these laws? The gods are the ones who did so').

Compare also

[75] ἀμαθής τε νὴ Δί' ὅστις οὑτωσὶ σφόδρα
ἀπεριμερίμνος τὴν θύραν *λελάκτικας*
καὶ φροντίδ' ἐξήμβλωκας ἐξηυρημένην (Ar. *Nub.* 135-7)

to

[76] τίς τὴν θύραν *ἐπάταξεν*; ὡς κενταυρικῶς
ἐνήλαθ' ὅστις· εἰπέ μοι τουτὶ τί ἦν; (Ar. *Ran.* 38-9):

in [75] the Agent, by his brutal way of kicking the door has become, so to speak, a 'door-kicker' and an 'abortionist', a member of the class (ἀμαθής ... ὅστις) of stupid and unconsiderate persons; in [76], the speaker just asks who has 'punched' the door.

A relatively clear case of two-place States both corresponding with and presupposing past Actions is provided by Thucydides' use of Active and Middle-Passive Perfect forms of ἀδικεῖν:

[77] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμὸν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογούμεθα· ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλόν τε *ἠδικήκατε* τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ζημίας πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν (Thuc. III.63[1])

[78] οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν ἢ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι ὄντες οὐ ξυνεστρατεύσατε ἢ ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν *ἠδικήκατε* λέγοντας οἴεσθαι πείσειν (Thuc. v.89)

[79] ὧν ἐγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν *ἠδικηκότας* ὑμᾶς (Thuc. III.39[1])

[80] θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προθέντων αὖθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων λέγειν καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὅ ἐστι πρὸς τῶν *ἠδικηκότων* μᾶλλον (Thuc. III.38[1])

[81] οὓς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς μὲν *ἠδικήμεθα*, οὗτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι (Thuc. I.39[3])

[82] οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων τε καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη *ἠδικῆσθαι* ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων (Thuc. I.67[3])

[83] σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι, *ἠδικημέναις* δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε (Thuc. I.123[2])

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[43] Cf. the quotation from Meillet below.

In [81] to [83] Middle-Passive Perfect forms refer to the situation of a Patient who is the victim of injury previously done to him, and who is thereby entitled to get compensation. In [77] to [79] Active Perfects characterize the Agent of past injury: by having acted in a certain way, the Agents now are liable to being demanded compensation by the injured party; in [80] ἠδικηκότων refers to anyone who finds himself in this situation.[44]

Understandably, this use of the Perfect is especially frequent in forensic speeches. Some characteristic instances are:

> [84] τίς οὖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδειότερος Νικομάχου δοῦναι δίκην; τίς ἐλάττω τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθὰ *πεποίηκεν* ἢ πλείω *ἠδίκηκεν*; ὅς καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγραφεὺς γενόμενος εἰς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα *ἡμάρτηκεν*. (Lys. xxx.24),

> [85] διὰ τί δ' ἄν τις ἀποψηφίσαιτο τούτου; πότερον ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις καὶ ναυμαχίαις παραγεγενημένου; (...) ἀλλ' ὅτι χρήματα *δεδαπάνηκε* καὶ πολλὰς εἰσφορὰς *εἰσενήνοχεν*; (Lys. xxx.26)[45]

and

> [86] σκέψασθαι δὲ χρή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, διὰ τί ἄν τις τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν φείσαιτο· (...) οὐχ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν *ἡταιρήκασιν*, οἱ δ' ἀδελφαῖς *συγγεγόνασιν*, τοῖς δ' ἐκ θυγατέρων αὐτῶν παῖδες *γεγόνασιν*, οἱ δὲ μυστήρια *πεποιήκασι* καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς *περικεκόφασι*, καὶ περὶ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς *ἠσεβήκασι*, καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν *ἡμαρτήκασιν* (Lys. xiv.41).

In all these passages, the speakers intend to explain to their audience to what discreditable or praiseworthy category of persons those they are dealing with belong. In many cases, for instance in [86], the appropriate rendering of a Perfect is a noun rather than a verb form: 'prostitutes, committers of incest, begetters of children by their sisters' &c. It is relevant to quote Meillet,[46] who observes that the Greek language has a distinctly 'verbal' character: 'ce qui est exprimé le plus volontiers, ce ne sont pas les choses, mais les actes d'où

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[44] Cf. the use of σπονδὰς λελυκέναι at Thuc. vii.18² and i.67¹.

[45] Both instances are quoted by Chantraine in order to illustrate that by using this kind of Perfect the speaker insists on 'la responsabilité de l'agent'.

[46] *Aperçu d' une histoire de la langue grecque*, 1965⁷, 42-3. This seems to be the point of Apollonius Dyscolus' λέγω σε κλέπτην· ὁρίζομαί σε δεδρακέναι τὰ τῆς κλοπῆς (*Synt.* p. 422 Uhlig): to call someone a thief is to say that he has done what makes one into a thief. The passage is quoted by Rijksbaron (1994, 35) in order to substantiate the reality of what he calls a "totalizing' value' of the Perfect ('e.g. ἠδίκηκας 'You are the perpetratror of a number of misdeeds'. The aorist ἠδίκησας would rather refer to one single misdeed'); but it seems mistaken to paraphrase Apollonius as saying that 'a thief is someone who is responsible for *a number of* thefts' (our italics).

elles procèdent'. So a Greek would prefer a verbal expression ('who has taught you?') to a noun ('who is your teacher?').

Comparable instances from a poetic text are

[87] – τὴν μητέρ' εἰπὲ πρῶτον εἰ *κατέκτονας*
– ἔκτεινα. τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει (A. *Eum.* 587)

(Orestes admits that he has killed his mother, but rejects the sinister implications of being a 'murderer')

and

[88] – φὴς ἢ καταρνῇ μὴ *δεδρακέναι* τάδε;
– καὶ φημὶ δρᾶσαι κοὐκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μή (Soph. *Ant.* 442).

(Antigone is invited to affirm or deny that she is the 'doer' of the deed – and thereby to admit that Creon's decree does apply to her; the substitution of the Aorist for the Perfect implies that she admits having buried Polynices without, however, recognizing Creon's right to kill her).

The difference between Aorist and Perfect is particularly clear in

[89] φημὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἳ ἐμὲ *ἀπεκτόνατε*, τιμωρίαν ὑμῖν ἥξειν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον πολὺ χαλεπωτέραν νὴ Δία ἢ οἵαν ἐμὲ *ἀπεκτείνατε* (Pl. *Ap.* 39c4 f.)

(a 'resultative' interpretation is out of the question: the punishment that awaits Socrates' murderers will be much more painful than the death they have inflicted on him).

The interpretation of Perfect verb forms corresponding with Aorists that refer to a two-place past Action can also be illustrated by some instances of διδάσκω – a verb which, at first sight, one would expect to furnish clear examples of the Perfect being used for emphasizing the continuing effect of a past action upon the Patient:

[90] ἀλλ' ὅ γε σὸς πατὴρ (...) δεινότερός ἐστιν διδάσκειν μεῖον ἢ πλέον ἔχειν· ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ Μήδους ἅπαντας *δεδίδαχεν* αὑτοῦ μεῖον ἔχειν; (Xen. *Cyr.* I.iii.18)

(The issue is Cyrus' grandfather's ability to teach others not to be greedy)

[91] κακὰ δεννάζων ῥήμαθ' ἃ δαίμων
κοὐδεὶς ἀνδρῶν *ἐδίδαξεν* (S. *Ai.* 243-4)

(one of two possible Agents is eliminated; so the issue is the identity of the Agent rather than his characteristics)

[92] οὐκοῦν οὐδενὸς διδάξαντος ἀλλ' ἐρωτήσαντος ἐπιστήσεται, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐξ αὑτοῦ τὴν ἐπιστήμην; (...) οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν ἀεὶ εἶχεν, ἀεὶ καὶ ἦν ἐπιστήμων; εἰ δὲ ἔλαβέν ποτε, οὐκ ἂν ἔν γε τῷ νῦν βίῳ εἰληφὼς εἴη. ἢ *δεδίδαχέ* τις τοῦτον γεωμετρεῖν; (Pl. *Men.* 85d3-e1)

('is there anybody whom we may call his teacher?' Cf. 85e6: ἀλλ' οἶδα ἔγωγε ὅτι οὐδείς πώποτε ἐδίδαξεν)

[93] (φάρμακα) τά σε προτί φασιν 'Αχιλλῆος *δεδιδάχθαι* (Λ 831)

(the speaker focuses on the Patient)

[94] τὰ πρὸ τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μαθήματα ἔχοντες ῥητορικὴν ᾠήθησαν ηὑρηκέναι (they considered themselves to be the εὑρεταί of rhetoric), καὶ ταῦτα δὴ διδάσκοντες ἄλλους ἡγοῦνταί σφισιν τελέως ῥητορικὴν *δεδιδάχθαι* (Pl. *Phdr.* 269c1-2).

('and teaching these to others they believe that a complete instruction in rhetoric has been provided by them').

In

[95] ἆρ' οὖν ἂν ἐξαρκέσειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ τήν τε πόλιν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορώτεροι γιγνοίμεθα καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοῖμεν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκοῖμεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων ὑπαρξάντων τελέως τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονήσειν. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν πόλεμος ἁπάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων *ἀπεστέρηκεν*· καὶ γὰρ πενεστέρους *πεποίηκε* (ἐποίησε GE) καὶ πολλοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν ἠνάγκασε[47] καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας *διαβέβληκε* καὶ πάντας τρόπους *τεταλαιπώρηκεν* ἡμᾶς (Isocr. VIII.19)

Isocrates is advocating peace, and therefore contrasts its blessings with the brutality of war, which is to be seen not as an 'Agent' who caused the effects specified (one may compare K 145 = [69] above), but as the deciding factor the audience have to eliminate in order to make an end to their present misery. It would be beside the point to see here an instance of a 'resultative Perfect' and to assume that, by using the Perfect, Isocrates focuses on the effects of war on those who suffer from it rather than on war itself.

[47] Regarding ἠνάγκασε it is to be observed that classical and hellenistic Greek show only 7 occurrences of the corresponding Perfect ἠνάγκακα; four of these occur in texts considered to be spurious (Dem. *C. Apat.* 28, Pluperfect; Pl. *Hipparch.* 232b1 and 3; ps.-Herodian. περὶ παθῶν 3,2, p. 388, 15); the remaining instances are: Pl. *Soph.* 240c4 (ὁ πολυκέφαλος σοφιστὴς ἠνάγκακεν ἡμᾶς τὸ μὴ ὂν οὐχ ἑκόντας ὁμολογεῖν εἶναί πως: the conversation is about the 'nature of the Sophist' *in abstracto*; ἠνάγκασε would have been appropriate if a living person had 'forced' the company to this admission), and, from Hellenistic Greek, Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8,73,3 and Polyb. 12, 26d. We should, perhaps, consider the possibility that Isocrates did write a Perfect, ἠνάγκακε being uncommon enough to be misread by a scribe.

4. DIFFERENT TYPES OF PERFECT?

In the preceding chapter we have made an attempt to specify the interpretations that result when what we have assumed to be the basic value of the Perfect is applied to various specific Situations. Although these interpretations are rather diverse, they can be shown to differ more or less systematically according to the type of Situation in question. It seems possible to subsume them all under one basic value without postulating separate 'senses', such as a *perfectum intensivum* or a 'resultative Perfect'. It remains, however, to be seen whether this tentative conclusion can be upheld

1. when we examine the evidence for the occurrence in Greek of the types of Perfect distinguished by Ruijgh, Slings and Comrie, and
2. consider the fact that a number of Situations cannot be assigned unequivocally to one of the four types of Situation we have so far distinguished.

4.1. *Perfect of current relevance*

According to Slings, from ca. 450 BC onwards, the Greek Perfect developed into a so-called 'Perfect of current relevance', relating a past Situation to a present communicative situation ('het betrekt een voortijdige stand van zaken in een contextueel gegeven communicatieve situatie'). He takes it that, as a consequence of this, the Perfect *de facto* came to express anteriority with respect to some given moment, and thus became part of the *tense* system, entering thereby the competition with the preterite tenses.

As an early instance of a current-relevance Perfect Slings (1994, 241) quotes

[96] τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ μάλα πολλὰ μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν *ὄπωπα*, καὶ εὖτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἐλάσσας
'Αργείους κτείνεσκε (Ω 391-3)[48]

(Hermes is referring to Hector, who is dead at the moment of speaking).

According to Slings, Homer has used ὄπωπα (rather than εἶδον) because Hermes is not just relating his past experience as such: he

[48] In Slings 1988, 67 these lines are quoted as an instance of an 'experiential Perfect', denoting 'a finished series of past events, one of these being singled out for separate mention' ('een afgesloten serie in het verleden liggende gebeurtenissen, waarbij er één met name wordt gereleveerd').

wants to underline its relevance for the present conversation with Priam.

In order to form ourselves an opinion on this interpretation, a few preliminary observations must be taken into consideration:

1. ὄπωπα (166 occurrences in TLG) alternates with ἑώρακα/ἑόρακα (3039 occurrences in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*). ὄπωπα has 9 occurences in Homer, 1 in Aeschylus, 5 in Sophocles and 2 in Aristophanes; in Attic prose texts it is found 3 times in Plato; it does not occur in Lysias, Thucydides, Xenophon and Demosthenes; ἑώ(ό)ρακα (& compounds) does not occur in Homer, Herodotus and the tragic poets; it has 6 occurences in Aristophanes, 5 in Lysias, 1 in Thucydides, 22 in Xenophon, 39 in Plato and 32 in Demosthenes. All in all, this indicates that, in archaic and Ionic Greek (7 times – 3 Perfects, 4 Pluperfects – in Herodotus, 3 times in the Corpus Hippocraticum) ὄπωπα was the normal expression, while in Attic Greek ἑώρακα gradually has taken over;[49]

2. ὄπωπα belongs to the category of perception verbs (seeing, hearing &c.), which 'can be construed either as a relation between an agent and a goal (patient) or as a relation between an experiencer and a source.'[50] Consequently, among the Situations these verbs refer to there are numerous cases where it is difficult to determine whether the feature 'control' does or does not apply.

To return to the passage from Homer: it seems to be of some importance to note that Hermes' words are a reaction to a question by Priam: 'who are you, that you speak to me so kindly of the fate of my unhappy son?': so Homer may very well have chosen the Perfect because Hermes, without saying who he actually is, is presenting his credentials (cf. 390: πειρᾷ ἐμεῖο) as one who has seen Hector with his own eyes – rather than stating the fact that he has seen him.

Comparable instances are

[97] οὐ γάρ τις μέτα τοῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοίσδεσι πᾶσιν
οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν· ἐγὼ δέ μιν αὐτὸς ὄπωπα (φ 93-4)

(Antinous is contrasting himself to Eumaeus, who seems to have forgotten what a formidable man Odysseus used to be);

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[49] This is supported by the fact that the 3 instances in Plato all occur in one and the same etymologizing context: ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἅμα ἑώρακεν – τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ὄπωπε – καὶ ἀναθρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται τοῦτο ὁ ὄπωπεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ μόνον τῶν θηρίων ὀρθῶς ἄνθρωπος ὠνομάσθη, ἀναθρῶν ὁ ὄπωπε (*Crat.* 399 c3-6) – man being characterized as the animal which not only '*sees*' ('has sight') but also 'considers that which he sees'.

[50] Quoted from Bakker 1994, 36.

[98] κέκλυτέ μευ, μνηστῆρες ἀγακλειτῆς βασιλείης
τοῦδε περὶ ξείνου· ἦ γάρ μιν πρόσθεν *ὄπωπα* (ρ 370-1)[51]

(Melanthius claims a right to the suitors' attention as being one who has seen the 'beggar' Odysseus before, as they have not),

and

[99] τοὔνεκα νῦν τὰ σὰ γούνατ' ἱκάνομαι, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα
κείνου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον ἐνισπεῖν, εἴ που *ὄπωπας*
ὀφθαλμοῖσι τεοῖσιν ἢ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσας
πλαζομένου (γ 92-4 = δ 322 ff.)

(therefore I have come to you, in order to see if you are willing to tell me about my father's unhappy end, if, by any chance, you have seen him).

In all these cases the speakers are describing themselves (ἐγώ, Ω 391-3, φ 93-4; μευ, ρ 370) or others (τὰ σά, γ 92-4) as persons who have seen something others have not. The same observation applies to

[100] ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρ' *ὄπωπα* μωρίας πλέων
ὃς ἐν κακοῖς ὕβριζεν τοῖσι τῶν πέλας.
κᾆτ' αὐτὸν εἰσιδών τις ἐμφερὴς ἐμοὶ
ὀργήν θ' ὁμοῖος εἶπε τοιοῦτον λόγον (...)
ὁρῶ δέ τοί νιν, κἄστιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
οὐδείς ποτ' ἄλλος ἢ σύ. (S. *Ai.* 1150-3)

(Teucer's reply to Menelaus' insulting 'story' [1142-7: ἤδη ποτ' *εἶδον* (I once saw) ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσσῃ θρασὺν | ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν (...) | οὕτω δὲ καὶ σέ κτλ.]: 'I, for my part, far from being the coward featuring in your story, would rather describe myself as one who has seen a fool, and who, feeling as I do now, said to this person: 'Never insult the dead; you're bound to suffer for it'. I think, nay I am sure, he stands before me now, and you are he').

In

[101] σὲ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας
στέροψ *ὄπωπε*[52]
λιγνύς, ἔνθα κτλ. (S. *Ant.* 1126)

we have an inanimate subject.

In all other occurrences ὄπωπα goes together with a negation:

[102] ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ μάχας εἰσήλυθον ἀνδρῶν
ἀλλ' οὔ πω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν *ὄπωπα* (Β 798-9)

(Iris has disguised herself as one of Priam's sons, who calls upon his father to realize that great dangers are at hand; if an experienced war-

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[51] Cf. Ruijgh 1991, 208: 'l'état d'avoir vu consiste à avoir l'expérience d'avoir vu'.
[52] Note the word-play in στέροψ ὄπωπε.

rior such as he has never witnessed a situation as threatening as the present one, his advice better be followed);

[103] τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' *ὄπωπα* μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
τὸ πρίν (Z 123-5)

(Diomedes describes the situation which makes him invite his enemy to identify himself: he has never seen this man, who has shown far greater daring than others [*προβέβηκας* ἁπάντων σῷ θάρσει], before, and reckons with the probability that he is confronting a god [εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων ... *εἰλήλουθας*]. Contrast *οὐ* γάρ πω τοίους *ἴδον* ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι | οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε (...), A 262-3, where Nestor is focusing, not on himself but on the heroes of old, who, unlike the present generation, used to listen to his advice);

[104] ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τ γαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταίκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρῴρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ *ὄπωπε*, ἐγὼ δὲ σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστι. (Hdt. III.37[2])

(Herodotus is contrasting himself to those who have not seen the Phoenician figureheads: 'for those who have not seen these, as I have, I will give an indication; contrast: ὃς δὲ μὴ *εἶδε* κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω, Hdt. IV.81[4]);

[105] φῄς γὰρ ἥκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος. νῦν ὦν εἴπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἄπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτὸς ὁ Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὄψιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἤ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου ἐξ ὅτευ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον οὔκω *ὄπωπα*· ὁ δέ μοι μάγος (...) ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας (Hdt. III.63[2])

(in his reply to Cambyses' threatening question the messenger first focuses on himself, then on his source: 'as far as I am concerned: I am not to be looked upon as one who has lately seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus. The facts are that it was the Magus who gave me my instructions, stating [φάς] that it was on the authority of Smerdis that I was to give the message')

[106] οἷα οὐκ *ὀπωπότας* αὐτὸν πρότερον οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι (Hdt. II.63[4])

('we do not know you by sight, so we have to refuse to admit you');

[107] τὸ φῦλον οὐκ *ὄπωπα* τῆσδ' ὁμιλίας
οὐδ' ἥτις αἶα τοῦτ' ἐπεύχεται γένος
τρέφουσ' ἀνατεῖ μὴ μεταστένειν πόνον (A. *Eum.* 57-9)

(the creatures the prophetess has seen were surely not women, nor can they be likened to Gorgons: once I saw [55: εἶδον ποτ' ἤδη] some pictured creatures of Harpies, but with these detestable creatures I have no personal experience whatsoever');

[108] οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' †ἄτης ἄτερ†
οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτ' ἄτιμον ἔσθ' ὁποῖον οὐ
τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ *ὄπωπ'* ἐγὼ κακῶν (S. *Ant.* 4-6)

(Antigone is not referring to past experience, but describing her present lamentable state);

[109] λόγῳ μὲν ἐξήκουσ', *ὄπωπα* δ' οὐ μάλα, (...)
ἄλλον δ' οὔτιν' ἔγωγ' οἶδα κλύων οὐδ' ἐσιδὼν μοίρᾳ
τοῦδ' ἐχθίονι συντύχοντα θνατῶν (S. *Phil.* 676-82)

('I have heard by rumour, but do not know by my own visual experience the terrible sufferings of Ixion; but of no other mortal know I, by hearsay or by sight, that has encountered a doom so dreadful as this man's');

[110] οὔπα γυναῖκ' *ὄπωπα* χαϊωτέραν (Ar. *Lys.* 1157);

[111] οὔπω τοιοῦτον συμπόσιον *ὄπωπ'* ἐγώ (Ar. *Lys.* 1225).

All in all, the use of ὄπωπα looks like having been remarkably invariable: it describes (or characterizes) a person as one who has (or happens to have) seen (or not seen) something, sometimes contrasting this person with others who have not (or have) seen it.

It may be helpful to compare θεάομαι, which refers to situations characterized by a higher degree of 'control' than just seeing or not seeing something: compare, for instance,

[112] *τεθέασθε* μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα μαχόμενον ἐν ὅπλοις, ὦ Νικία τε καὶ Λάχης· οὗ δ' ἕνεκα ὑμᾶς ἐκελεύσαμεν συνθεάσασθαι ἐγώ τε καὶ Μελησίας ὅδε, τότε μὲν οὐκ εἴπομεν, νῦν δ' ἐροῦμεν. (Pl. Lach. 178a1-4)

(Nicias and Laches have just watched the exhibition of a man fighting in armour: they are now in a position to have explained to them why they were invited to come and view the performance)

with

[113] καὶ ἐπῄνει τοῦτον ὃν νῦν ὑμεῖς *ἐθεάσασθε* ἐπιδεικνύμενον, κᾆτ' ἐκέλευε θεάσασθαι (Pl. *Lach.* 179e2-4)

(the speaker is focusing on the man who advised him to go and see the hoplite the company has just watched).[53]

According to Comrie (60) 'the perfect may be used where the present relevance of the past situation referred to is simply one of temporal closeness, i.e. the past situation is very recent'. In Slings' view this type of Perfect, where it occurs in ancient Greek, is just one

[53] Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 370: φέρε ποῦ γὰρ πώποτ' ἄνευ Νεφελῶν ὕοντ' ἤδη τεθέασαι; (it is a fact of nature that you cannot have rain without seeing clouds at the same time), and *Vesp.* 1188: ἐγὼ δὲ τεθεώρηκα πώποτ' οὐδαμοῖ.

possible interpretation of a Perfect referring to relative past time. As an example of this he quotes

[114] τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἔκ τινος ἐνυπνίου ὃ *ἑώρακα* ὀλίγον πρότερον ταύτης τῆς νυκτός· καὶ κινδυνεύεις ἐν καιρῷ τινι οὐκ ἐγεῖραί με (Pl. *Crit.* 44a6-7).

It is, however to be observed 1) that having dream visions is a clear case of a situation which lacks the feature 'control', and 2) that, in a case like this, the Perfect reflects the speaker's intention to describe his present situation rather than to report a past experience.

In any case, Slings' contention that the relative frequency of a Perfect being combined with adverbials such as νεωστί, ὀλίγον πρότερον &c. supports the assumption of a 'Perfect of recent past' seems not to be borne out by the facts. Cf. for instance

[115] πάλαι δέδοκται ταῦτα κοὐ νεωστί μοι (S. *El.* 1049);

[116] Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν (...) ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι (Hdt. II.104[3])

(the Phoenicians and some Syrians admit that they have learnt the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians, other Syrians say that they have learnt it only recently from the Colchians);

[117] ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτος σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεε ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι (Hdt. I.196[1])

(a former Situation is being contrasted with the present);

[118] ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός (Hdt. II.49[2])

(the Delta is being characterized as land that has only recently appeared above water; ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν seems due to Herodotus' being aware that νεωστί is somewhat of an exaggeration, since nobody, of course, can remember a time the Delta was not there);

[119] ἡλικίην τε νέος ὢν καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζώστρην (Hdt. VI.43[1])

(Mardonius is being characterized as one who is young and has recently married; cf. τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις in E. *Med.* 366 or τοὺς νεωστὶ δεσπότας in *Hec.* 617, and the instances in Hdt. of νεωστί + Present participle such as νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν, Hdt. III.127[1]; νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, Hdt. III.140[2]; ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών, Hdt. VII.143[1]; cf. νεωστὶ πόλιν ἐχόντων, Thuc. III.30[2]).

Together, these instances show that νεωστί is primarily used when a present Situation (expressed either by a Present, a noun or a participle [ἔχων, ἐς πρώτους παριών] or by a Perfect) is said to have only just set in. The only instance of νεωστί + Aorist in Herodotus is

[120] αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν (Hdt. II.58),

where Herodotus is focusing on the antiquity of the Egyptian ceremonies as opposed to the comparative newness of those in Greece: a Perfect would therefore have been misplaced.[54]

According to Slings, a basic value which makes the Perfect relate a past situation to a present communicative situation may lend to the Perfect a particular 'interactional' or rhetorical impact; in order to illustrate how Aorist and Perfect do differ in this respect he quotes the last sentence of the following passage from Plato:

[121] – τί γὰρ κωλύει, ἔφη. – οὐδὲν ἐμέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ἐκεῖνον κωλύει, ὃς ὑποθέμενος σωφροσύνην εἶναι τὸ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν ἔπειτα οὐδέν φησι κωλύειν καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄλλων πράττοντας σωφρονεῖν. – ἐγὼ γάρ που, ἦ δ' ὅς, τοῦθ' ὡμολόγηκα ὡς οἱ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράττοντες σωφρονοῦσι, εἰ τοὺς ποιοῦντας ὡμολόγησα; (Pl. *Charm.* 163a10-12).

As Slings has it, the Aorist ὡμολόγησα just indicates the common ground shared by the conversation partners, whereas ὡμολόγηκα makes it clear that, at this moment in the conversation, the speaker wants to stick to the precise content of his previous acknowledgment. If, however, we take the preceding context into consideration, we seem to have here also a perfectly regular case of a Perfect describing the present State of the speaker:

– 'no objection on my part, I said, but there may be a difficulty for one who proposes as a definition of temperance "doing one's own business", and then says that there is no reason why those who do the business of others should not be temperate.
– Nay, he said, am I supposed to have admitted this? I did admit it for those who 'make', not for those who 'do'':

if Charmides has admitted what Socrates says, he can at best have done so unwittingly.

Cf. also, this time with a State Situation:

[122] πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων Λεπτίνου κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἓν μάλιστα τεθαύμακα πάντων, εἰ ἐκεῖν' ἠγνόηκεν ὅτι ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις μεγάλας τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ' ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσθαι δόξαι, οὕτως ἄν τις ἀναιρῇ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ποιεῖν

[54] In the texts we have studied there is only one other example of νεωστί + Aorist indicative: τὰ καινὰ γ' ἐκ τῶν ἠθάδων, ὦ δέσποτα | ἡδίον' ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ αὖ νεωστί γε | ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄντρα σοι ἐσαφίκοντο ξένοι (E. *Cycl.* 251), and two of νεωστί + Aorist participle: πότερα πάλαι τεκοῦσαν ἢ νεωστὶ δή; (E. *El.* 653) and νεωστὶ κατελθόντες (Lys. XVIII.1).

ἀγαθὸν παρεσκευάσθαι δόξει. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν *ἠγνόησε* ταῦτα (...) αὐτίκα δηλώσει (Dem. xx.143)

(I am particularly surprised at Leptines being described as one who is unaware that his proposal brings him under the suspicion of being himself guilty of misconduct towards the city; but he will, no doubt explain himself whether he actually did not recognize this).

Our examination of the three examples quoted by Slings ([96], [114] and [121]) appears to justify the conclusion that these do not provide ground for the contention that, circa 450 B.C., the Greek Perfect underwent a fundamental change, and, from a Perfect referring to a present State, developed into what is essentially a preterite tense insisting on the current relevance of a past Situation.

4.2. *Perfect of persistent situation*

According to Comrie (60), the Perfect of persistent Situation 'describes a situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present', such as *we've lived here for ten years.* He observes that this use seems to be characteristic of English, and compares French *j'attends depuis trois jours* and German *ich warte schon drei Tage.*

At first sight, an instance like

[123] οὑτοσὶ μέν ἐστί μοι πατὴρ 'Ατρόμητος, σχέδον πρεσβύτατος τῶν πολιτῶν· ἔτη γὰρ ἤδη *βεβίωκεν* ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέτταρα (Aeschin. II.147)

seems comparable to the instances quoted by Comrie. In order to understand why a Perfect has been chosen one has, however, to take into account that Aeschines is defending his father against the allegation that he began his life, under the name of Tromes, as a slave, and has tried to cover up his dubious credentials as an Athenian citizen by adopting the name Atrometos (see Dem. XVIII.129). Aeschines is not telling us that his father is a very old man, but is characterizing him as πρεσβύτατος τῶν πολιτῶν: all these years, he has lived his life, for all to see, in the midst of his fellow-citizens. One may compare the way βεβιωκέναι is used in forensic speeches:

[124] οὕτω γὰρ *βεβίωκα* τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ὥστε μηδένα μοι πώποτε μήτ' ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μήτ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ μήθ' ὕβριν μήτ' ἀδικίαν ἐγκαλέσαι, (...) ἀλλ' ἀνεγκλητεὶ μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡλικίας *βεβιωκὼς* εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καθέστηκα κίνδυνον εἰς ὅνπερ ἂν εἰ πάντας ἐτύγχανον ἠδικηκώς (Isocr. XV.27-28);

[125] οὕτως βεβίωκα ὥστε μηδεπώποτέ μοι μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα μηδὲν ἔγκλημα γενέσθαι (Lys. XVI.10; cf. also Lys. III.6; XVI.6; XXIV.1).

In philosophical contexts also βεβιωκέναι is used for referring to the kind of life people lead:

[126] τί δ' εἰ ἡδέως βιοὺς τὸν βίον τελευτήσειεν; οὐκ εὖ ἄν σοι δοκεῖ οὕτως *βεβιωκέναι*; (Pl. *Prot.* 351b5-7)

('wouldn't you consider such a life to be a good life?');

[127] ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωνται οἱ τετελευτηκότες, εἰς τὸν τόπον οἷ ὁ δαίμων ἕκαστον κομίζει, πρῶτον μὲν διεδικάσαντο οἵ τε καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως βιώσαντες καὶ οἱ μή. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν δόξωσι μέσως *βεβιωκέναι*,[55] πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα (...) ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην κτλ. (Pl. *Phd.* 113d1-6);

(after having told us that all the newly dead – irrespectively of whether they did or did not live well – have to submit to judgment, Socrates distinguishes three groups: 1) those who are judged to have lived – βεβιωκέναι – a neutral life; 2) οἳ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν, 3) οἳ δ' ἂν ἰάσιμα μὲν μεγάλα δὲ δόξωσιν ἡμαρτηκέναι ἁμαρτήματα);[56]

[128] ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀδίκως διαβεβλημένοις τούτους εἶναι μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζωσιν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν αὐτοῖς *βεβιωμένων* καταστῆναι (Lys. XVI.1)

(those who have been slandered are given an opportunity to submit what has become of their lives to the judgment of their fellow-citizens).

4.3. *'Emploi totalisant-itératif'*

[72] – Ἀπολλόδωρον οὐ γιγνώσκεις τὸν Κυζηνικόν; – Ποῖον τοῦτον; – Ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι πολλάκις ἑαυτῶν στρατηγὸν *ᾕρηνται* ξένον ὄντα· καὶ Φανοσθένη τὸν Ἄνδριον καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Κλαζομένιον, οὓς ἥδε ἡ πόλις ξένους ὄντας, ἐνδειξαμένους ὅτι ἄξιοι λόγου εἰσί, καὶ εἰς στρατηγίας καὶ εἰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄγει· (Pl. *Ion* 541c7-d4)

has been quoted above as an example of a Perfect corresponding with a past Action. The same passage has been quoted by Ruijgh (1991, 209-11) as an example of what he terms 'l'emploi totalisant-itératif du parfait': 'Ici, la phrase n'implique pas qu'au moment présent, la personne en question, un certain Apollodore, soit général des Athéniens. Ce qu'elle implique, c'est qu'Apollodore est *souvent* leur général. L'état résultatif consiste donc dans l'attitude *stable* des Athéniens à l'égard d'Apollodore et dans la qualité *durable* d' Apollodore.

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[55] Cf. *Gorg.* 526c1-2: ὁσίως βεβιωκυῖαν.

[56] At 114b6 a fourth group is mentioned: οἳ δὲ δὴ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιῶναι, but the text is uncertain: βιῶναι προκεκλῆσθαι Clem.: βιῶναι προκεκρίσθαι Theodoretus.

La constatation de cet état repose sur la constatation de la série itérative des actes de choix dans sa *totalité, jusqu'au moment présent.* En effet, cette expression implique que le *dernier* acte de la série appartient au passé récent.'

Another of Ruijgh's instances is

> [129] καίτοι πολλά γε συγκεχωρήκαμεν οὐ συμβαίνονθ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστήμης εἶναι συνεχωρήσαμεν, οὐκ ἐῶντος τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲ φάσκοντος εἶναι· καὶ ταύτῃ αὖ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν ἔργα γιγνώσκειν συνεχωρήσαμεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐῶντος τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δὴ ἡμῖν γένοιτο ὁ σώφρων ἐπιστήμων ὧν τε οἶδεν, καὶ ὧν μὴ οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδεν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ παντάπασι μεγαλοπρεπῶς συνεχωρήσαμεν, κτλ. (Pl. *Charm.* 175b)
>
> ('Cependant nous avons concédé jusqu'ici beaucoup de choses qui ne s'accordaient pas avec notre raisonnement. Car nous avons concédé que ...; et nous avons concédé que ...')

In order to make out whether these passages in fact exemplify a special use of the Perfect it seems important to make a clear distinction between 'denotation', 'presupposition' and 'reference'. Regarding the two passages quoted one may observe

1. that the Perfect forms συγκεχωρήκαμεν and ᾕρηνται *presuppose* (or: imply) that the subjects did perform the corresponding past actions (*εἵλοντο or *ᾑροῦντο and συνεχωρήσαμεν resp.), and
2. that both the presence of πολλάκις and πολλά and the context that follows make it clear that we are dealing with what was *de facto* a series of several cases of συνεχωρήσαμεν.

This, however, does not entail nor imply that the Perfects συγκεχωρήκαμεν and ᾕρηνται have been chosen because by using an Aorist the speaker would have referred to a series in which the last action did belong to a more distant past; nor does it provide a ground for maintaining that the Perfect, as opposed to the Aorist, does *denote* 'a series of past actions, the last action in this series belonging to the recent past' (Ruijgh 209: 'le parfait *exprime* ici la totalité d'une série itérative qui s'étend jusqu'au moment donné'; our italics). The mere fact that, for instance, ᾕρηνται in [72] presupposes a series of past actions, whereas, for instance, κατέκτονας in [87] presupposes one single action provides no reason for postulating a special category of Perfect forms.

When we ask ourselves why, in [128], Plato has used the Perfect συγκεχωρήκαμεν the answer seems to be that, when the conversation partners made the admissions Plato refers to by συνεχωρήσαμεν, they did not realize that this would be the outcome: Socrates observes that they find themselves, without being aware of it, in the position

of having made more admissions than could be fairly granted: using an Aorist would have meant that the company had brought about this outcome deliberately (cf. ὡμολόγηκα in [120] above).

The same line of criticism applies to Ruijgh's other instances:

[130] ἐᾶτέ μ', οὔτοι φίλα τὰ μὴ φίλ', ὦ κόραι,
κεῖσθαι πεσοῦσαν· πτωμάτων γὰρ ἄξια
πάσχω τε καὶ *πέπονθα* κἔτι πείσομαι (E. *Tr.* 468)

('je souffre et j'ai souffert jusqu'ici et je souffrirai encore': πέπονθα focuses on Hecuba's present lamentable state rather than on the past sufferances themselves: 'I am suffering, that is my state and it will remain so in the future);

[131] τολμήεις μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ *πέπονθα*
κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ (ρ 284-5)

('j'ai souffert jusqu'ici beaucoup de maux': Odysseus has been toughened by what he has suffered on the sea and in the war)
(contrast I 492: ὥς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα: Phoenix appeals to the fact that, in the past, he has toiled and suffered for Achilles; Ruijgh: 'ainsi, pour toi, j'ai souffert [jadis] de très nombreux maux');

[132] ὢ πόποι· ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ *ἔοργε*,
βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων·
νῦν δὲ τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν (B 272-4)

(by his last action, Odysseus has proved himself once again to be the man we know from his past noble behaviour).

4.4. *Verbs referring to different types of Situation*

In Sections 3.1–3.4 we hope to have shown the relevance of the features, or 'parameters', Change and Control for the interpretation of Perfect forms in their context. There are, of course, a number of verbs that refer to Situations that cannot once for all be assigned unequivocally to one and the same of the four types we have distinguished. An attempt to classify these might well turn out to involve more complications than would be justified by the result. So, for the moment, we will leave it at investigating the complete material for two verbs from our *corpus* that belong to this group.

4.4.1. *ἀκούω*

In a number of cases the present and preterite forms of ἀκούω require the interpretation 'listen to, give ear to', and, therefore, refer to a situation that clearly involves the feature 'Control'. A case in point is

[133] – ἄκουε, Νέμεσι τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως.
– ἤκουσεν ὧν δεῖ κἀπεκύρωσεν καλῶς. (S. *El.* 792-3):

Electra's appeal to the Nemesis of her dead brother to 'give ear', and, of course, to act accordingly, is answered by Clytaemnestra: 'she has heard (i.e. answered the prayers of) who should be heard, and has ordained well'.

In other cases, ἀκούω does not involve the 'volition' of the person who 'hears': one may very well hear (and, a fortiori, *not* hear) something without intending to do so – or hear something without taking it in. In these cases, a preterite tense is the natural choice when the speaker reports the identity of his informant, as in:

[134] ταῦτα δ' ἐγὼν ἤκουσα Καλυψοῦς ἠυκόμοιο.
ἣ δ' ἔφη Ἑρμείαο διακτόρου αὐτὴ ἀκοῦσαι (μ 389-90)

[135] εἴτε του θεῶν
φήμην ἀκούσας εἴτ' ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οἶσθά που (S. *OT* 42-3)

[136] καὶ ταῦτ' Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες ἤκουον σαφῶς
Ὀδυσσέως λέγοντος (S. *Phil.* 595-6)

or reports the content of what he has heard:

[137] λέγοιμ' ἂν οἷ' ἤκουσα τοῦ θεοῦ πάρα (S. *OT* 95)

In these instances, apparently, having heard something in the past is considered to be tantamount to having been informed about it. So Kühner-Gerth's 'resultative' interpretation of ἀκήκοα ('ἀκηκόατε: Ihr habt gehört und wißt nun') seems to apply also to ἤκουσα/-ον: *I have heard this from Calypso* being equivalent to *I know this from Calypso.*

The instances of ἀκήκοα in our *corpus* can be classified roughly as follows:

A. the person addressed has asked a question: he would have *known* the answer, if only he had paid attention to what he has heard: So his present State is that he has heard something, and yet, having paid no attention to it, doesn't know it.

[138] – αὐτὸς ὅτι βούλει πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν λέγε.
– ἀκήκοας μυριάκις ἁγὼ βούλομαι (Ar. *Nub.* 737-8)

[139] καὶ πῶς ἂν λόγοις
ἄνδρα πτερώσειας σύ; – πάντες τοῖς λόγοις
ἀναπτεροῦνται. – πάντες; – οὐκ ἀκήκοας
ὅταν λέγωσιν οἱ πατέρες ἑκάστοτε
τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοις ταδί; (Ar. *Av.* 1440-1)

[140] – ἄγε δή, τί δρῶμεν, Ἡράκλεις; – ἀκήκοας
ἐμοῦ γ' ὅτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄγχειν βούλομαι (Ar. *Av.* 1574-5)

[141] – πῶς εἶπας; – οἷά περ πέπονθ' *ἀκήκοας* (S. *OC* 896)

[142] – πάντ' *ἀκήκοας*.
– τέθνηκεν ἡ τάλαινα;
– δεύτερον κλύεις (S. *Trach.* 876-8)

(the question makes it clear that the Chorus cannot believe their ears: hearing once more what already has been said will make them register [κλύεις] the sad content of the message).

Cf. also

[143] τῆς μέντοι πόλεως πάνυ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ αἰσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἰδιώτας μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τούτους· πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήπου οἷς μεμέληκεν *ἀκηκόαμεν* ὅτι Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους (Xen. *Vect.* 4.14)

(If the Athenians had paid due attention to what they have heard about the behaviour of rich individuals, they surely would have followed their example),

and

[144] – τί φής, Ἀχιλλέως παῖ; τίν' εἴρηκας λόγον;
δίς ταὐτὰ βούλει καὶ τρὶς ἀναπολεῖν μ' ἔπη;
– ἀρχὴν κλύειν ἂν οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐβουλόμην.
– εὖ νῦν ἐπίστω πάντ' *ἀκηκοὼς* λόγον (S. *Phil.* 1237-40)

(– Must I repeat the same words twice and thrice? – I should have wished not to listen [κλύειν] to them even once. – Rest assured that you have heard all there is to say – the implication being that Odysseus now should begin to deal with it)

B. The speaker is not stating the fact that somebody has heard (or not heard) something, but is characterizing a person as one who has (or has not) some piece of information:

[145] σκέψαι δ' ὅτι
Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος
κἀλκαῖος, οἳ περὶ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν
ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἰωνικῶς,
καὶ Φρύνιχος, τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν *ἀκήκοας*,
αὐτός τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἠμπίσχετο (Ar. *Thesm.* 164-5)

(Mnesilochus may be an uneducated person, and know nothing about Ibycus, Anacreon or Alcaeus, but, he cannot be so stupid as not to have picked up the name of Phrynichus)

[146] δῆλος δ' ἐστὶν ὅτι τοῦ πράγματος
ἀκήκοέν τι τῇ βαδίσει καὶ τῷ τάχει (Ar. *Plut.* 333-4)

(Blepsidemus' behaviour betrays someone who knows what is going on)

[147] Ἀχιλλέως παῖ, δεῖ σ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐλήλυθας
γενναῖον εἶναι, μὴ μόνον τῷ σώματι

ἀλλ' ἤν τι καινὸν ὧν πρὶν οὐκ *ἀκήκοας*
κλύῃς, ὑπουργεῖν, ὡς ὑπηρέτης πάρει (S. *Phil.* 50-2)

('should you hear [κλύῃς, not ἀκούῃς] something you have so far not heard about, that is no good reason not to screw up your courage, and to refuse to assist'; τι καινὸν ὧν πρὶν οὐκ ἀκήκοας is a euphemism: Neoptolemus is the sort of person that is a stranger to this kind of things, but now he must bring himself to aid plans which will be repugnant to him)

[148] δεῖ δή σ', ἔμοι γ' ἐλθόντα προσφιλῆ, λόγων
κρύψαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς μηδέν' ὧν *ἀκήκοας* (S. *Phil.* 587-8)

The supposed merchant – who has, in fact, been sent by Odysseus, has informed Neoptolemus that Phoenix and the sons of Theseus are at sea and on his track. He at first pretended to be unable, or unwilling, to answer further questions: οὐκ οἶδ'· ἀκούσας δ' ἄγγελος πάρειμί σοι: *I do not know: I only tell you what I have heard.* He is about to tell Neoptolemus that Odysseus is after Philoctetes, but when he discovers that Philoctetes himself is present, he quasi refuses to do so. Neoptolemus assures him that he himself is a sworn enemy to the Atreidae whereas Philoctetes is his best friend, and urges him to speak: *since you are well-disposed to me, you must not keep from us any part of the tidings you have heard.* So ἀκήκοας is appropriate: you both are well-disposed to me and have information that is important to me, so it is only natural not to keep from me what you know.

The merchant then tells them that Odysseus and Diomedes have sworn to bring Philoctetes, no matter how, back to Troy, and Neoptolemus asks him what made the Greeks, after all this time, think of the man whom they had cast away. The merchant is prepared to answer the question:

[149] ἐγώ σε τοῦτ', ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ *ἀκήκοας*,
πᾶν ἐκδιδάξω (S. *Phil.* 603-4)

I will explain this to you, for it may very well be that you do not know it.

It is relevant to note that the messenger's report of Helenus' prophecy will not contain anything not already known to Neoptolemus, and that the man will leave out part of the truth, so as to make Philoctetes afraid and thereby the more anxious to depart for Greece, as he supposes. So the purport of the introduction is to make Philoctetes believe that what he is going to say is new to Neoptolemus too.

[150] καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος λέγει ὅτι *ἀκήκοε* Πολυνίκου ὡς εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται Λακεδαιμονίοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος (Xen. *An.* VII.vi.43)

Seuthes is attempting to make Xenophon act in a certain way by making him afraid of the consequences of acting otherwise: he pretends to know that Xenophon's life is in danger. So he is not telling him that he has heard something, but is quasi proving his good intentions by sharing with him a piece of 'knowledge'.

C. The speaker contrasts himself as someone who knows something, with others, who do not know it.

[151] *ἀκήκοα* γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἄλλων πρεσβυτέρων, ὅτι οὐ νῦν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ πολλῶν ἐψεύσθητε τῆς οὐσίας, οἳ ζῶντες μὲν πλουτεῖν ἐδόκουν, ἀποθανόντες δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐφάνησαν (Lys. XIX.45)

('I [ἔγωγε] – as others, perhaps, do not – know from my father')

[152] ᾤχετο μετὰ Εὐνόμου, Διονυσίου φίλου ὄντος καὶ ξένου, τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ πεποιηκότος, ὡς ἐγὼ *ἀκήκοα* τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ παραγενομένων (Lys. XIX.19)

(as I [ἐγώ] happen to know from those who were present at Piraeus: having been with those who were at Piraeus characterizes one as a reliable democrat)

D. Having heard what has been said, the audience now are in a position to deal with it, and/or to draw their own conclusions:

[153] τὰ μὲν οὖν γεγενημένα καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων *ἀκηκόατε* (Lys. III.21; cf. also I.43; IX.9; XII.48; XIX.55, 60; XX.26; XXII.10; XXXII.28 and Thuc. VI.91[3])

[154] *ἀκηκόατε*, ἑωράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε (Lys. XII.100)

Cf. also

[155] ἐπερρώσθησαν διδάξαντος ταῦτα ἕκαστα αὐτοὺς καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τοῦ σαφέστατα εἰδότος *ἀκηκοέναι* (Thuc. VI.93[2])

[156] ἀλλ' ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι
τὸν εὐγενῆ χρή. πάντ' *ἀκήκοας* λόγον (S. *Ai.* 479-80)

('you have heard all there is for me to say' – the Perfect marks the distance between Ajax and those he has adressed, the implication being that, whether or not the Chorus fully understand what he has told them, or will subscribe to the conclusion, Ajax intends to act on it and to kill himself)

In our final instance, a Perfect participle explicitly refers to the difference between 'having heard' and 'knowing':

[157] ἐνθυμεῖσθε τοίνυν οἷον ἂν ἐγένετο, εἰ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων *ἀκηκοότων* ὅτι τετταράκοντα τάλαντα ἔχοι Διότιμος, εἶτα ἔπαθέ τι πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι δεῦρο (Lys. XIX.51)

The Athenian assembly has been told that a certain Diotimus had earned himself no less than forty talents. Lysias' point is that this kind of hearsay information, more than once, has proved false: suppose something had happened to Diotimus, would his relatives not have been in a very difficult position – being forced to prove that there was no money at all?

F. someone is said to have a certain reputation:

[158] εἰπάτω νῦν τίς ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κακῶς *ἀκήκοεν* ἢ πέπονθεν (Lys. VIII.3; cf. X.11, 22, 23, 27, 28).

4.4.2. *φροντίζω*

[159] ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἐντεθύμηται καλῶς
ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ *πεφροντίκαμεν*, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ
τὰς χεῖρας αἴρειν μνημονεύσομεν τότε. (Ar. *Eccl.* 262-4)

(active Perfect – coordinated with passive Perfect – referring to a present State that corresponds with a two-place past Action: the women are almost ready to make their appearance in the Assembly, but they realize that they have not yet thought out how to remember to behave like men at the moment they will be called on to vote);

[160] – διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ θοἰμάτιον ἀπώλεσας;
– ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολώλεκ' ἀλλὰ *καταπεφρόντικα* (Ar. *Nub.* 856-7)

(present State corresponding with a two-place past Action; the question implies that it is due to Strepsiades' own stupidity that he lost his cloak. His answer: *'you cannot say that of me: I have not "lost" it: I have "thought it away"'*)

[161] μισῶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην, τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολέσχην
ὃς τἄλλα *πεφρόντικεν*
ὁπόθεν δὲ καὶ φαγεῖν ἔχῃ τούτου κατημέληκεν (Eupolis *fr.* 352)

(present State corresponding with a two-place present Position; it is typical of Socrates that he is concerned about many things but neglects the practical details of everyday life)

[162] ὁ γέρων δ' ὁ πάντ' ἀνακρίνων ἀρτίως
γένει μὲν αὐτῷ θεῖός ἐστι πρὸς πατρός,
πονηρίᾳ δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὅλως
ὑπερπέπαικεν· οὗτος οὔτε συγγενῆ
οὔτε φίλον οἶδεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ
αἰσχρῶν *πεφρόντικ'* οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βούλεται
ἔχειν ἅπαντα· τοῦτο γινώσκει μόνον (Men. *Aspis* 114-20)

(present State corresponding with a two-place present Position; an old man is characterized as one who does not worry about acting discreditably);

[163] οὗτος, τί σεμνὸν καὶ πεφροντικὸς βλέπεις; (E. *Alc.* 773)

(present State corresponding with one-place Position; 'why this serious and careworn look in your eyes?': Admetus looks like one who πεφρόντικε).

4.5. *Past Situations?*

So far, we have seen no instances of the Perfect denoting past Situations: although in many cases (especially with Actions) the corresponding past (controlled) Situation has in fact been performed at the moment referred to by the Perfect, the Perfect as such has been seen not to *denote*, but at most to *imply* or to *presuppose* this past action. There are, however, instances where the situation is more complicated:

[164] – μὴ νῦν προδῷς με, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ καρτέρει
– κεκαρτέρηται τἄμ'· ὄλωλα γάρ, πάτερ. (E. *Hipp.* 1456-7)

[165] φαύλως ἔχω. – θάρρει. – τεθάρ|ρηκ'. οὐκέτι|
ὑμῖν ἐνοχλήσει τὸν ἐπίλοιπον γά|ρ χρόνον|
Κνήμων. (Men. *Dysc.* 692-3)

Regarding the latter passage, Handley rightly observes that 'out of context τεθάρρηκα would be expected to mean 'I *am* cheerful' (cf. e.g. I 420, Xen. *An.* 6.5.30; 6.3.12). His interpretation ('I've done with cheering up') has been contested by Sandbach, who offers two other possibilities: either we accept Kamerbeek's conjecture τεθάρ|ρητ(αι) (which gives us a closer parallel to E. *Hipp.* 1457), or we translate 'I *am* of good cheer' (which gives us something like: 'Chin up, old man' – 'My chin *is* up') and take the γάρ-clause that follows as Knemon's explanation for this: in future, he will no longer be a nuisance. To this interpretation it may perhaps be objected with Sandbach that it is not easily compatible with Knemon's somewhat egotistic *persona*, but if you find it a comforting thought that in the future an impossible fellow like you will no longer be a nuisance to others that is not necessarily a token of altruism.

However this may be, it still leaves us with Hippolytus' κεκαρτέρηται τἄμα – where nobody seems to have contested Barret's interpretation: 'my enduring is done'. It is, however, to be observed

1. that θαρρεῖν (LSJ 'to be of good courage', 'be confident'; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 644c: φόβος μὲν ἡ πρὸς λύπης ἐλπίς, θάρρος δὲ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου) shows the feature 'control' to a lesser degree than καρτερεῖν (LSJ 'to be steadfast, patient', 'bear patiently');
2. that there are no instances of an active Perfect *κεκαρτέρηκα,

whereas τεθάρρηκα/τεθάρσηκα for denoting a present State already occurs in Homer (I 420: τεθαρσήκασι λαοί), and

3. that κεκαρτέρηται τἄμα, being a middle-passive Perfect, strictly spoken, refers to the present situation of Hippolytus' life rather than to Hippolytus himself.

So we should, perhaps, not suppose that κεκαρτέρηται τἄμα is equivalent to *κεκαρτέρηκα ἐγώ, but rather paraphrase something like 'what has become of me is indeed, whether I wish it or not, to be described as the object of my patience: I am done with'. Even so, however, κεκαρτέρηται τἄμα remains a rather recherché expression, for which it is difficult to find an exact parallel.[57]

Cf. also

> [166] ἀλλὰ βουλεύου – μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι ἔτι ὥρα ἀλλὰ *βεβουλεῦσθαι* (Pl. *Crit.* 46a4-5)
>
> (it is no longer time to make plans, but to have them)

and

> [167] τὸ γὰρ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, *βεβούλευται* μὲν οὐδὲν ἧσσον εὖ (Hdt. VII.10δ)
>
> (even if things go against us, that by itself does not affect the quality of our deliberations).

4.6. *Summary*

1. The position of the Perfect in the Greek tense system is ambivalent: on the one hand, it has its own preterite and future; on the other hand, Perfect verb forms corresponding with States and Positions can easily be coordinated with Present verb forms, whereas those that correspond with Processes and Actions primarily relate to the corresponding preterite forms (cf. [1] - [9] above).

2. The Greek Perfect denotes a State of the referent of its subject.

3. Passive Perfect forms occur with transitive Positions and Actions (σεσίγηται, λέλειπται). They describe a present State of a Patient, and, in the great majority of instances, if it is at all possible to identify a veritable Agent (in the sense of a person who maintains the situation involved), doing so is irrelevant for the understanding of the state of affairs that is being described. To quote one typical instance:

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[57] Barrett *ad loc.* quotes Cicero's famous βεβίωται and E. *Or.* 1203: εἴρηται λόγος. The former, however, should not be rendered 'my life is over', but rather 'this is what must be considered to be (or: to have been) my life'. The latter is rather different, since at the moment it is said the λόγος, so to speak, is 'before us': 'my speech is as I have given it', 'see here my speech'.

[168] καὶ τόδ' ἀμφέρειν δόμοις
γένοιτ' ἂν ἄχθος δειματοσταγὲς φόνῳ
τῷ πρόσθεν ἑλκαίνουσι καὶ δεδηγμένοις (A. *Cho.* 841-3)

To lay this too upon the house would prove a fearful burden when it is still festering and galled by the wound inflicted by a former murder.

Since Passive situations, as far as the referent of the subject is concerned, typically lack the parameter control, it is not surprising that, in our corpus, morphologically Passive Perfect forms by far outnumber the Active forms: there is, so to speak, a natural affinity between the Passive and the Perfect as semantic categories.

4. The interpretation of Active Perfect forms vis à vis the corresponding Present or preterite forms works out in different ways, according to the type of Situation involved:

a. State: a present inalterable State (τέθηλε, μέμηνε) versus a present State that, for one reason or another, may be discontinued (θάλλει, μαίνεται).

The semantic contrast between a Perfect State and a Present State may come near to what may be termed a doublet, as in

[168] πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντες π λ ο υ τ ο ῦ σ ι πονηροί,
ἀδίκως αὐτὰ ξυλλεξάμενοι· πολλοὶ δ' ὄντες πάνυ χρηστοὶ
πράττουσι κακῶς καὶ πεινῶσιν (...) (Ar. *Plut.* 502-4)

and

[169] τί ἂν οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἴη; πόθεν καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ
Χρεμύλος π ε π λ ο ύ τ η κ' ἐξαπίνης; οὐ πείθομαι. (Ar. *Plut.* 335-6).

In [168], apparently, a Present form has been chosen because the speaker wants to bring out the paradoxical distribution of wealth: many people, in marked contrast to their moral character, can be seen to be rich – a situation that surely will be put an end to, if only Plutus regains his eyesight (*ib.* 505). In [169], however, the speaker is puzzled by the rumour that Chremylus, all of a sudden, is a rich man, although one cannot imagine how he managed to win this happy state (cf. 339: ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος, and 346: γέγονας δ' ἀληθῶς, ὥς λέγουσι, πλούσιος; – both referring to the same situation as πεπλούτηκε in [169])

b. Position: a present State the speaker considers inalterable by the person or entity involved (σεσίγηκε, κέκλαυται) *versus* a present Position that is initiated and/or maintained by an Agent (σιγᾷ, κλαίει).

As in the case of States, it may be difficult to trace the considerations that made a speaker prefer a Perfect rather than a Present form. A case in point is [39], where Aeschines' choice of σεσίγηκε is

inspired by his wish to emphasize that his opponent is to be seen as putty in the hands of those who are sponsoring him, rather than by some definite characteristic of Demosthenes' silence as such.

c. Process: a present State (τέθνηκε, ὄλωλε) versus a past Process (ἀπέθανε, ὤλετο).

d. Action: a present State (λέλοιπε, ἠδίκηκε) versus a past Action (ἔλιπε, ἠδίκησεν).

5. Perfect verbs corresponding to present States and Positions do not presuppose – nor can they in a meaningful way be said to 'result from' – any preceding Situation that is denoted by the same lexeme: when someone is described as πεφοβημένος or ἐσπουδακώς, this does not imply or presuppose that, at some earlier moment, the same person ἐφοβήθη or ἐσπούδασεν.

6. In the case of Positions and States, active Present and Perfect forms, up to a point, are co-referential: speakers opt for a Perfect rather than for a Present form when they consider it unlikely that the Situation referred to will be discontinued – their actual preference depending on their view of the Situation at hand rather than on any indisputable characteristics of it.

7. In the case of Actions and Processes the situation referred to by the Perfect actually may (*but does not need to*) presuppose the past Action (ἔλιπε, λέλοιπε; ἐλείφθη, λέλειπται) or Process (ἀπέθανε, τέθνηκε) referred to by the corresponding Aorist. So, instead of taking it that, because τέθνηκε, normally, *presupposes* ἀπέθανε, therefore, τέθνηκε must also *refer to* (or *denote*) both the past Process and the present State, it seems preferable to describe the contrast between Aorist and Perfect in the case of both Processes and Actions as a contrast between a *statement of past fact* versus a *description of a present State.*

A clear instance is [87]: κατέκτονε (τις τινα) will be seldom or never appropriate if κατέκτεινε (τις τινα) would be contrary to the truth. One can, however, very well admit the truth of κατέκτεινε and at the same time dispute the appropriateness of κατέκτονε. Along the same lines, one can imagine a situation where ἀπέθανε does apply, whereas τέθνηκε does not (cf. [56]).

5. PRODUCTIVITY, USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF PERFECT

5.1. *The morphological diversity of the Perfect*

Both in archaic and in classical and hellenistic Greek the morphological diversity of active Perfect forms is considerable. Apart from the fact that the different ways of building a Perfect form and the complicated effects of the relevant phonetic laws result in a bewildering variety of forms (λέλοιπα, ἤγγελκα, ἀπολώλεκα, πέπομφα, πέπηγα, βέβλαφα, δέδειχα, εἴληφα, πέπονθα, πέφαγκα, ἔοικα, οἶδα, &c.) there is also the fact that one and the same paradigm may show a remarkable morphological diversity, that may or may not be semantically significant. An example of this is provided by κλαίω: κλαύσομαι/ κλαυσθήσομαι/κλα(ι)ήσω, ἔκλαυσα/ἐκλαυσάμην and κέκλαυμαι, both with an active and a passive interpretation – as is illustrated by ἐπιφθέγγομαι κεκλαυμένα (A. *Ch.* 457) and ἀνδρὸς εὖ κεκλαυμένου (A. *Ch.* 687) respectively –, *κέκλαυκα being conspicuous by its absence.

It is, to say the least, difficult to find the ratio of the way these different morphological variants are distributed over the different Action types we have distinguished.

a. In the case of States we have instances of:

- a middle-passive Present corresponding with a morphologically active Perfect: δέρκομαι ~ δέδορκα;
- a middle-passive Present corresponding with a middle-passive Perfect: χολοῦμαι ~ κεχόλωμαι;
- an active Present corresponding with an active Perfect: φρίσσω ~ πέφρικα;
- an active Present corresponding with a middle-passive Perfect: δακρύω ~ δεδάκρυμαι;
- both a transitive and a middle-passive Present, the latter corresponding with an active Perfect: ἔλπω (β91: πάντας μὲν ῥ' ἔλπει) ~ ἔλπομαι ~ ἔολπα;
- both active and middle-passive Perfect forms without any observable semantic difference: τετιηώς, τετιημένος.

b. In the category Position we find:

- active Present forms corresponding with both active and middle-passive Perfect forms: σιγῶ ~ σεσίγηκα, σεσίγημαι, the latter both with active and passive interpretation;

– active Present forms corresponding with an active Perfect: κεύθω ~ ὅσα πτόλις κέκευθε (X 118), τλῆναι ~ τέτληκε (with an object, as in ἦ τις δὴ τέτληκε τόσα φρεσὶν ὅσσα τ' ἐγώ περ (τ 347);
– middle-passive Present corresponding with a middle-passive Perfect: δέχομαι ~ δεδεγμένος, δέδεξο, δεδέξομαι (E 238: τὸν δ' ἐγὼν ἐπιόντα δεδέξομαι);
– active Present corresponding with middle-passive Perfect, requiring either a passive or an active interpretation: ταυτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν ἐντεθύμηται καλῶς (Ar. *Eccl.* 262-4) and ὅ τε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος (Thuc. 1.120[4]).

c. In the category Process we find:

– middle-passive Present corresponding with active Perfect: ὄλλυμαι ~ ὄλωλα;
– both an intransitive active Present and an intransitive middle-passive Present corresponding with a middle-passive Perfect: e.g. φθίνω, φθίμενος ~ ἔφθιται;
– active Present corresponding with both an active and a middle-passive Perfect: ἐρείπω, ἐρέριπτο, κατερήριπεν;
– both a transitive active and an intransitive middle Present corresponding with an active Perfect: σήπω (αἱ ἡσυχίαι σήπουσι καὶ ἀπολλύασι Pl. *Theaet.* 153c), σήπομαι ~ σέσηπα;

d. In the category Action we find:

– both an active and a middle-passive Present, the latter corresponding with a morphologically active Perfect: πείθω, πείθομαι ~ πέποιθα, διαφθείρω, διαφθείρομαι ~ διέφθορα, τρέφω, τρέφομαι ~ τέτροφα (ψ 237), πήγνυμι, πήγνυμαι ~ πέπηγα;
– both an active and a middle Present, the latter corresponding with a middle-passive Perfect: κλίνω, κλίνομαι ~ κεκλίαται;
– both an active and a middle-passive present, the former corresponding with an active, the latter with a passive Perfect: λείπω ~ λέλοιπα, λείπομαι ~ λέλειμμαι (N 236), ἔδω (ἐσθίω) ~ ἐδηδώς (ὥς τίς τε λέων κατὰ ταῦρον ἐδηδώς T 542), ἔδομαι ~ ἐδήδοται (ὅσσα τοι ἐκπέποται καὶ ἐδήδοται ἐν μεγάροισιν χ 56).

5.1.1. *Morphologically active Perfect with middle Present*

Regarding morphologically active Perfect forms corresponding with a middle Present, the evidence more or less supports Chantraine's diagnosis (1927, 63) that this type of paradigm was exposed to the pressure of analogy: 'Isolé et anomal, le parfait actif des verbes moyens devait, sous la pression de l'analogie, céder la place au parfait moyen.'

An illustrative case is οἴχομαι: in Homer (K 252 παροίχωκεν), Aeschylus (*Pers.* 13: πᾶσα ἰσχὺς Ἀσιατογενὴς ᾤχωκεν) and Sophocles (*Ai.* 896: οἴχωκ', ὄλωλα, διαπεπόρθημαι) the verb has an active Perfect, whereas in Herodotus both the active and the middle-passive Perfect occur: cf.: αἵ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχηνται (IV.136[3]) and ὁ δέ [sc. ποταμός] μιν [viz. a horse] συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων (I.189[1]: Herodotus may have preferred the active Perfect because Cyrus is treating the river as a human being, who has insulted him by causing the death of one of his horses). In Xenophon we find only the middle form (cf. *An.* II.iv.1: CBAE: παρῳχημένων, rell. παροιχομένων; cf. Hipp. *De arte* 9; Plut. *Cam.* 14). In its most frequent sense 'to be gone, departed; to be undone, ruined' the Perfect, of course, competes with its corresponding Present οἴχομαι, that seems to have won the day – as can be gathered from Xen. *Cyr.* v.iv.11: τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἴχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι. As in many cases Atticist prose-writers tend to return to the more 'choice' forms (cf., for instance, D.H. 11.5).

Old instances of active Perfects alternating with middle-passive Perfect forms are: ὄρωρα, ὀρώρεται (ἔνδοθι θυμός: τ 377); ἔρρωγα, συνέρρηκται (κακοῖσι: human subject, θ 137; the active ἔρρηχα occurs in the Septuagint, 2 *Ki.* 14.30); ἔσβηκα, [γένεσις] ἀπέσβεσται (Parm. B 8.21); ἐγρήγορα, ἐγήγερμαι (first as a varia lectio in Thuc. VII.51[1]: ἐγηγερμένοι).

Post-classical instances that seem to point to a certain tendency to normalize things are: κατέαγμαι (Luc. *Tim.* 10, Paus. 8.46.5); μεμάνημαι (Theocr. x.31); πέπηγμαι (D.H. 5.46) and ἐπέπηκτο (Jul. *Or.* 3 123b); σέσημμαι (Aristot. *Hist. An.* 634a and Luc. *Philopseud.* 20); τέτηκται (Plut. *Mor.* 106d). Finally, we have, of course, a transitive ἀπολώλεκα corresponding with ἀπόλωλα, and πέπεικα (Lys. XXVI.7), πέπεισμαι (A. *Pers.* 697) corresponding with intransitive πέποιθα.

Regarding the data from our corpus, the following observations can be made:

1. There are 4 'evergreens', frequently occurring both in poetry and in prose: ἐλήλυθα (+ compounds), ἕστηκα (+ compounds), ὄλωλα/ἀπόλωλα and πέφυκα – ἐλήλυθα and ἕστηκα corresponding with Actions, ὄλωλα and πέφυκα with Processes. They all show the full range of morphological possibilities (ἐλήλυθα, ἐληλυθώς, ἐληλυθέναι; ἕστηκα, καθεστήκοι, ἑστ(ηκ)ώς, παρεστώτοιν, ἑστάτω, ἑστάναι, εἱστήκει; ὄλωλα, ὀλωλέναι, ὀλωλώς; πέφυκα, πεφυκώς, πεφυκέναι).

In all these cases the active Perfect is supported by the very frequency of the verbs in question. ὄλωλα, of course, occurs only in

poetry; ἀπόλωλα is much more frequent in Aristophanes than in any other author: its relatively strong position may be illustrated by the Scythian police-man's barbaric ἀπόλωλο at Ar. *Thesm.* 1212.

2. ἑάλωκα, γέγονα, ἐγρήγορα, δέδυκα and τέτηκα also occur both in prose and in poetry.

Regarding ἑάλωκα it is to be remembered that ἁλίσκομαι is a defective paradigm – the active forms being supplied by αἱρέω. ἑάλωκα is primarily used a) of places (or armies) having fallen into the hands of the enemy (once in Aeschylus, *Ag.* 30) and b) of animals caught by a hunter. In the orators it occurs as a law-term 'to be convinced and condemned' (Lys. x.25).

Xenophon is the only prose author to use ἐγρήγορα: this may be a coincidence, since the Perfect is used freely by Aristophanes. In tragic poetry ἐγείρω is often used metaphorically (e.g. φόβος ἐγείρεται): ἐγρήγορα has just two occurrences in Aeschylus (with neuter subjects: *Ag.* 346: ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων, *Eum.* 706: εὑδόντων ὕπερ ἐγρηγορὸς φρούρημα).

γέγονα is not found in Thucydides, who has only γεγένημαι, which is far more frequent in Lysias and Xenophon also – γέγονα being used primarily for referring to someone's origin or age. In tragic poetry the participle γεγώς is by far the most frequent form. It mostly a) refers to someone's origin by birth (e.g. E. *Hipp.* 943: ὅστις ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγὼς ᾔσχυνε λέκτρα) or b) is part of phrases like μὴ φανῇς κακὸς γεγώς (S. *Trach.* 1129); it is especially frequent in Euripides, who has no less than 71 occurrences, and uses it so to speak as a formulaic way of ending trimeters, such as *Alc.* 860: γενναῖος γεγώς | |, *Med.* 223: αὐθάδης γεγώς | |.

The prose use of (ἐν)δέδυκε is restricted to two specialized uses: a) [the Mossynoeci] χιτωνίσκους ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων (Xen. *An.* v.iv.13; cf. the quotation from Hdt. at [64] above) and b) ἡλίου δεδυκότος (Lys. i.22). It does not occur in tragedy: the three instances in Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 140, 182, 188) all have reference to Philocleon who is hiding in the chimney.

A special case is τέτηκα, which, apart from the (mostly metaphorical) use in poetry (at Soph. *El.* 283 and Eur. *Hec.* 433 it is used with a personal subject), occurs two times in one and the same chapter of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (iv.v.15: subject: snow). A comparable case is ἀποσεσηπότες, Xen. *An.* iv.v.12 (cf. Eur. *El.* 319: αἷμα πατρὸς κατὰ στέγας σέσηπεν).

πέποιθα is remarkable: it is rather frequent in Aeschylus (16 instances), but much less so in Sophocles (2 instances) and Euripides

(22 instances); together with its low frequency in Aristophanes (7) and its almost complete absence from the prose authors (apart from πεποιθέναι in Pericles' Funeral Speech at Thuc. II.42⁴)[58] in our corpus this seems to indicate that it went out of use. Surprisingly πέπεικα (once in Lysias, twice in Xen. *An.*) and πέπεισμαι (3 occurrences in Thuc., once in Lysias and Xen. *An.*) are rather infrequent also.

3. The remaining instances of an active Perfect corresponding with a middle Present are restricted to poetry.

Not surprisingly πέπορδα is found in comedy only. The same goes for κατέαγα, but here we have at least one case of παρατραγῳδία: *Thesm.* 403 (τῷ κατέαγεν ἡ χύτρα; is a parody of Euripides' *Stheneboea* (*fr.* 667). At *Ach.* 1180 (τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσών) κατέαγε refers to someone who has broken his skull (κάτηγμα is the medical term for a fracture; cf. *ib.* 546: ἀντὶ δὲ μάκτρας | φιδάκνης πλευρὰν ἐρρωγυῖαν καὶ ταύτην: ῥωγμή is a medical term also: cf. S. *Phil.* 824); at *Plut.* 545 (στάμνου κεφαλὴν κατεαγότος) refers to a vine with 'a broken head'.

Finally, the use of 7 perfects (most of them epic perfects) is restricted to tragic poetry: ἄραρα (once in Aeschylus, not in Sophocles, but a favourite with Euripides, who has it 9 times), δέδορκα, μέμηνα, μέμυκα (said of a heifer), πέπηγα (subject: Ajax' sword), ὄρωρα (Ar. *Pax* 1287: βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει is, of course, an epic quotation; cf. S. *OC* 1622, where the subject is also βοή) and ἔσβηκα.

5.2. *Productivity of different semantic types of Perfect*

The tables at the end of the book are so presented as to provide the reader with an overview of the distribution of Perfect forms over the four categories we have distinguished. We will limit ourselves to some short comments on the characteristic features of each category, and cite those instances that, together, will enable the reader to form himself an opinion on the relevant features of the group in question.

5.2.1. *State*

(Perfect forms that occur in archaic epic poetry are given in italics)

Perfect only

Aeschylus: *δέδοικα*, *κεχασμένος*, *ἔοικα*, μεμαργωμένοι, *μέμνημαι*, *οἶδα*, *ἐπτοημένος* (cf. Hes. *OD* 447), *κεχρημένος*.

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[58] There are only two instances in Plato: αὐτῷ πεποιθέναι (*Menex.* 248a7) and ψυχῆς πεποιθυίας (*Epin.* 874b7), as against 26 occurrences of πέπεισμαι and 6 of πέπεικα.

Sophocles: *γέγηθα*, *εἴωθα*, *δέδοικα/δέδια*, *ἔοικα*, τεθάμβηκα, *μέμονα*, *μέμνημαι*, *οἶδα*, κατερρυηκώς (cf. Hippocr. *Loc. Hom.* 10), *κεχρημένος*.

Euripides: *ἄραρε*, *γέγηθα*, *εἴωθα*, *ἔοικα*, *δέδοικα*, *κέκασται*, *μέμονα*, *οἶδα*.

Aristophanes: *γέγηθα*, *δέδοικα*, *εἴωθα*, *ἔοικα*, *κεκασμένον* (*Eq.* 685: lyric), *οἶδα*, ὑπερπέπαικεν ('surpass, exceed'), διερρυηκέναι.

Lysias: *δέδοικα*, *εἴωθα*, *ἔοικα*, *ἐπιλελῆσθαι*, *οἶδα*.

Thucydides: ἐξηνθηκός (with ulcers, subject: σῶμα), ἐξήρτηται (VI.96[2], subject: τὸ χωρίον), *εἴωθα*, *ἔοικεν*, *δέδοικα*, ἀπηχθημένος, *οἶδα*, ἔρρωμαι, *ἐπικεκλιμένων*, ἀντεκεκρούκει (VI.46[2]: τοῦτο ἀντεκεκρούκει: their hope had come to nothing), ὑστερήκει.

Xenophon: *δέδιασι*, *εἴωθα*, *ἔοικα*, *οἶδα*, ἔρρωνται.

Both a Present and a Perfect

Aeschylus: *ἐγεγήθει*, *δέδορκα*, δεδόκηκεν/δέδοκται, ἔολπα (?),*τεθαλώς*, *κεκμηκότων*, κεκράτηκεν, μεμηνότα, *πέφρικα*.

Sophocles: *δέδορκα*, δέδοκται (e.g. *El.* 1049: πάλαι δέδοκται κοὐ νεωστί μοι), *τέθηλε*, *κεκμηκότων*, *κέκευθεν* ('lies hidden'), λέληθα, *λελῆσθαι*, μέμηνα, πεπονημένος (*Trach.* 985: κεῖμαι πεπονημένος ἀλλήκτοις ὀδύναις), *πεφόβημαι*.

Euripides: ἐξηρτήμεθα, *βέβριθα*, *δέδορκα*, δέδοκται, *κεκμηκότων*, λέλαμπε, λέληθα, *λέλησμαι*, μέμηνα, ὠργισμένος, σεσωφρόνηκας, τεταρβηκώς, *κεχαρημένος*, *κέχρημαι*.

Aristophanes: δεδόκησαι (*Med.* 763: γενναῖος ἀνὴρ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεδόκησαι), δέδοκται, ἡττήμεθα, κεκράτηκεν, λέληθεν, *ἐπιλέλησμαι*, μεμίσηκα, ὑπονενοήκαμεν, πεπλούτηκε, ἔστυχα, *κεχάρηκας*, *κεχάρησαι*.

Lysias: δεδόχθαι (?), δεδυστυχήκασιν, τετρυφηκέναι (F. 69 Th.: ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τρεῖς τέχνας ἐργάζεσθαι, τήν τε λιθουργικὴν καὶ λιθοτριβικὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ τετρυφηκέναι).

Thucydides: ὑπερβεβλήκει (VIII.104[5]: τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὑπερβεβλήκει τὴν ἄκραν), ἐδέδοκτο, *ἐκεκμήκεσαν*, ἐπελελοίπει (three instances, all of them with σῖτος as subject), ἐλελήθεσαν, τεταλαιπωρημένος, *πεφόβημαι*.

Xenophon: *πεφόβηνται*.[59]

One glance at the material suffices to make clear that Perfect forms in this category are, predominantly, an inheritance of archaic epic

[59] A special case is ὑπηργμένος. The form occurs in Herodotus, Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1159: τί δῆθ' ὑπηργμένων γε πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν | μάχεσθε κοὐ παύεσθε τῆς μοχθηρίας;) and in rhetorical prose (e.g. Lysias 21.25). In LSJ s.v. a Passive τκὰ ὑπηργμένα is given under ὑπάρχειν c. acc.: 'take the initiative in [doing] kindnesses to one', and distinguished from an Active τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ('much like τὰ ὑπηργμένα), a man's record.' Cf. also Thuc. I.93[3]: ὑπῆρκτο: 'a beginning of it (*i.e.* a wall) had been made'.

poetry. The comparative rareness of this type of Perfect forms in Aristophanes, Thucydides, Lysias and Xenophon may indicate that it was felt to be a poetic idiom. ἔρρωμαι and the Perfect forms that go with δοκέω seem to be about the only ones not known from epic poetry that have obtained a firm footing in Attic Greek.

5.2.2. *Position*

The passive forms in this category (such as παρημελήμεθα, διατετίμηται, διεπεφρούρηται, ἠξιωμένα, κέκλημαι, κεκλαυμένος, νενόμισται, ᾠμωγμένον &c.) do not call for any special comment.[60]

The number of active Perfect forms that do not have a corresponding Present is relatively small:

Aeschylus: δεδωμάτωμαι, μέμυκε (*Suppl.* 352-3: said of a heifer).
Sophocles: κέκραγας (*Ai.* 1236: Agamemnon is criticizing Teucer's arrogant way of speaking about Ajax).
Euripides: —
Aristophanes: ἐνηντιώμεθα, ἡταιρηκότος (*Pax* 11, of a boy who prostitutes himself), κέκραγα (23 instances; the corresponding Present is seldom found; in Ar. only *Eq.* 287: κατακεκράξομαί σε κράζων), διακέκραγα, κεκριγότες.
Lysias: βεβίωκα, ἡταιρήκασιν (= [86] above), κεκραγότα.
Thucydides: ἐξεδεδιῄτητο (1.132²: τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἴ τι που ἐξεδεδιῄτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων: Pausanias' behaviour is considered to betray contempt of Spartan laws and customs).
Xenophon: κεκλαγγυῖαι (v.l. κεκραγυῖαι; said of hounds).

Both Present and Perfect forms

Aeschylus: κέκευθεν (subj.: ὄχθος, λέβης), κέκλαγγεν (Clytaemnestra's shriek after a terrifying dream), κεκλαυμένος (*Cho.* 457 and 731, said of someone who is 'all tears'), λέλακε (subject: χώρα), πέποιθα, πεπλάνημαι (*PV* 565: σήμηνον ὅποι γῆς ἡ μογερὰ πεπλάνημαι), πεπόταται (subject: μύσος and ἀχλύς), τετολμηκώς (?).
Sophocles: βέβρυχα (*Trach.* 1071: in spite of himself, Heracles is weeping like a girl), κεκλαυμέναι (*OT* 1490: said of Oedipus' daughters), ᾤκηκεν (Orestes is making inquiries about Aegisthus' 'fixed abode'), συγκατῴκηκεν (*OC* 1259, of Oedipus who is living in exile), κατῴκηνται (*OC* 1004: καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ὡς κατῴκηνται καλῶς: 'how well her state has been ordered').

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[60] Special cases are A. *Sept.* 588: ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός (a Homeric idiom) and κεκαρτέρηται (= [164] above).

Euripides: κατῳκήκασιν (*Bacch.* 752, said of villages that are situated on the slopes of Cithaeron) πεπλωκότα (*Hel.* 532: πορθμοὺς δ' ἀλᾶσθαι μυρίους πεπλωκότα ἐκεῖσε κἀκεῖσε), πεπόταται (*Hipp.* 564: μέλισσα δ' οἵα τις πεπόταται), σεσίγηται (*Alc.* 78, subject: δόμος), πεφροντικός (*Alc.* 773: τί σεμνὸν καὶ πεφροντικὸς βλέπεις; = [163] above), κεχρημένος.

Aristophanes: ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι (*Thesm.* 82: the Athenian women's plot against the 'anti-feminist' Euripides), τεθέασαι (cf. note 54), τεθεώρηκα (cf. note 54), λέλακας (*Ach.* 410: a case of παρατραγῳδία: τί λέλακας;), νενόμικας (*Ach.* 993: ἦ πάνυ γερόντιον ἴσως νενόμικάς με σύ; the old men cannot imagine that the beautiful Diallage would deem them worthy of her attention; cf. *Eq.* 714), πεπότημαι (*Nub.* 319: subject ψυχή; cf. *Av.* 1445: ἀνεπτερῶσθαι καὶ πεποτῆσθαι τὰς φρένας), σεσιώπηκας (*Vesp.* 944: said of someone who is silent because he has nothing to say), ἐσπούδακα (e.g. *Ran.* 813: ὅταν γ' οἱ δεσπόται ἐσπουδάκωσι, κλαύμαθ' ἡμῖν γίγνεται. As Dover, *ad loc.*, observes: 'the perfect subjunctive is a tense we do not often meet, but here it is not surprising, because ἐσπουδακέναι, denoting excitement, enthusiasm or seriousness, is common'), πεφροντίκαμεν (cf. [159] above).

Lysias: βεβουλευκώς (be a member of the Boule), ἐπιδεδεμηκέναι (IX.4, X.9: 'being a resident'), ἐζηλωκώς, πεπολιτεῦσθαι, καταπεφρόνηκε (VI.11: τοσοῦτον καταπεφρόνηκε τῶν θεῶν).

Thucydides: ἠναντιώμεθα (of a declared opponent), κατεσχηκότος (I.11[3]: τοῦ νῦν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος: 'the prevailing view'), κατῴκημαι (to be settled), ὡμίληκα ('assuevi'),[61] ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι (IV.54[1]: ηὗρον αὐτοὺς ἐστρατοπεδευμένους ἅπαντας).

Xenophon: προτετιμήκασι (*Lac. Resp.* XV.9: ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασι, subject: Lycurgus' laws).

Typical categories are the following:

- Perfect forms that refer to an inanimate subject;
- Perfect forms that refer to irrepressible expressions of emotion (e.g. κέκλαγγε);
- In rhetorical prose the perfect is used for describing the defendant's, or the accuser's, (moral) character by citing his (past) behaviour as a citizen, such as: διῴκηκα (16.11: τὰ μὲν ἴδια οὕτως διῴκηκα), κεκολάκευκεν, ἐστρατήγηκε, διατετέλεκα (16.18: πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατετέλεκα ποιούμενος), τετίμηκε, τετριηράρχηκα, κεχορήγηκε.

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[61] Bétant s.v. distinguishes ὁμιλεῖν, 'versari', from ὁμιλεῖν, 'adsuecsere'.

5.2.3. *Process*

The productivity of this category seems to be more or less the same in poetry and in prose. In most cases, the semantic difference between Aorist and Perfect forms is more or less clear-cut: by using the Perfect, the speaker focuses on the present State, without paying attention to the past Process that preceded it. The number of verbs involved is comparatively small. Apart from γέγονα/γεγένημαι and πέφυκα (both of them relatively frequent), the hard core of the category is constituted by two semantic groups:

- Natural processes in the sphere of growth, decay, &c., such as ἐβλάστηκα, ἐγρήγορα, ἠνδρωμένος, γεγήρακα, πέπηγα, σέσηπα, τέτηκα, τέτοκα.
- Non-inherent processes, given with the way of the world, that just happen to men or things, such as κατέαγα, ἠγρίωται, ἡμάρτηκα, κεκαλλιερηκότες, εἴληχεν, εἱμαρμένα, τέθνηκα, ὄλωλα, πέπονθα, πέπτωκα, ἐσφάλμεθα.

A special case is εὑρίσκω, that may refer both to 'finding' (– Control) and to 'seeking and finding' (+ Control), as can be seen from

[170] εὕρημα δ' οὐκ οἶσθ' οἷον *ηὕρηκας* τόδε· (E. *Med.* 716)

(Present State corresponding with past Process)

and

[171] ἃ γὰρ γυναιξὶ σώφρον' ἔσθ' *ηὑρημένα* (E. *Troad.* 645)

(Present State corresponding with what may be termed a past Action – the implication being that the rules of decency have been consciously established).

In

[172] Πυλάδη, τί λέξω; ποῦ ποτ' ὄνθ' *ηὑρήμεθα*; (E. *IT* 777)

a Middle Perfect refers to two persons who are unable to identify the place where they 'find themselves'.

5.2.4. *Action*

Passive forms

The overwhelming majority of Perfect forms in this group are morphologically Passive Perfect forms.[62] In many cases, the Situation referred to can hardly be termed a veritable passive situation, there

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[62] It is characteristic of Chantraine's view of the Perfect that this fact does not appear from his 'Lexique des mots étudiés'.

being no question of a responsible Agent.[63] To quote three characteristic instances out of many: in

[173] χέουσα πολύδακρυν γόον *κεκρυμμένα*

In my concealment I poured forth my lament in plenteous weeping (A. *Cho.* 448, transl. Weir Smyth)

and

[174] (...) ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸς
κεκρυμμέν' ἀνθρώποισιν ὠφελήματα,
χαλκόν, σίδηρον, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν τε τίς
φήσειεν ἂν πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ; (A. *PV* 501)

the question who has concealed Electra (or maintains her present situation), or who has hidden (or was hiding) the precious metals, is completely irrelevant. Cf. also

[175] ὅπως δ' ὁρᾷ μόνον νιν *ἐλλελειμμένον* κτλ. (S. *El.* 736).

Perfect forms such as these may be described as instances *par excellence* of the category: they almost by definition refer to a Situation that cannot be altered by the person or entity involved: 'einen unwillkürlichen Zustand eines Subjektes' (cf. Schwyzer-Debrunner 263). This seems to accord with the fact that, among Passive Perfect forms, participles are in the majority.

Active forms

Active Perfect forms that go with 'Action' verbs are much less frequently found than Passive ones. Many of them can be assigned to one of the following semantic categories:

1. the Agent of a previous Action is (permanently) characterized, and/or has significantly and permanently changed his/her relationship to others, by what he/she has done in the past. Cf., for instance,

[176] λέξω δέ, μέμψιν οὔτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων
ἀλλ' ὧν *δέδωκ'* εὔνοιαν ἐξηγούμενος (A. *PV* 445-6)

(as a benefactor of mankind, Prometheus has earned a right to gratitude),

[177] καὶ μὴν *πεπωκώς* γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον
βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει
δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἐρινύων (A. *Ag.* 1188-90)

and

[63] As a consequence of this, it proves difficult to be consistent in assigning the relevant instances to the Passive or the Middle. Cf. what is said in the Introductory note to the tables.

[178] ὢ πῦρ σὺ καὶ πᾶν δεῖμα καὶ πανουργίας
δεινῆς τέχνημ' ἔχθιστον, οἷά μ' εἰργάσω,
οἷ' *ἠπάτηκας*· οὐδ' ἐπαισχύνῃ μ' ὁρῶν
τὸν προστροπαῖον, τὸν ἱκέτην, ὦ σχέτλιε;
ἀπεστέρηκας τὸν βίον τὰ τόξ' ἑλών (S. *Phil.* 927-31).

Here belong a number of instances in rhetorical prose (such as ἠδίκηκε, ἠσέβηκε, ὠνειδικώς, πεποίηκα, διέφθαρκεν &c.),[64] where the speaker intends to describe himself or his opponent as someone who, having acted in a certain way, may (or must) expect to be treated accordingly. Some instances of this usage have been quoted above ([77]-[80], [84]-[87]). Cf.also

[179] ἐγὼ τοίνυν δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους πιστοτέρους ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων, μηδὲ περὶ ὧν αὐτοὶ σύνιστε, τοιαῦτ' ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων, ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ προστεταγμένα ἅπαντα προθυμότερον *πεποίηκα* ἢ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠναγκαζόμην (...) (Lys. VII.31),

and, in Comedy,

[180] αἳ τἄλλα θ' *ὑβρίκασι* κἀκ τῶν χαλπίδων
ἔλουσαν ἡμᾶς (Ar. *Lys.* 400-1).

As can be gathered from our tables, this use of the Perfect occurs in all the authors we have studied. Aeschylus'

[87] – τὴν μητέρ' εἰπὲ πρῶτον εἰ *κατέκτονας*
– ἔκτεινα. τούτου δ' οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει (A. *Eum.* 587)

alone suffices to show that he was acquainted with this idiom. Its comparative frequency in Aristophanes, Lysias and Thucydides, therefore, seems to be bound up with the subject matter of the texts rather than with a supposed gradual development of a new category as advocated by Chantraine.

2. someone has moved from one place to another: what is relevant is that the person involved has gone, or cannot be expected to go back to where she/he came from, rather than the past fact that he/she has moved:

[181] *πεπέρακεν* μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη
βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀν-
τίπορον γειτονα χώραν (A. *Pers.* 64-6)

[182] τί ποτε *βέβηκεν*, Οἰδίπους, ὑπ' ἀγρίας
ᾄξασα λύπης ἡ γυνή; (S. *OR* 1073).

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[64] Cf. the last group mentioned sub 5.2.2. above.

[62] δακρυρροεῖ δύστηνος ἐξ ὅτου πάτραν
διήνεμον *λέλοιπεν* (S. *Trach.* 325-6).

3. there is an inanimate subject, as, for instance, in:

[183] βοῦς δ' ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας
βέβηκε (A. *Ag.* 36)

[184] ἐμοὶ δ' ἄελπτον πρᾶγμα προσπεσὸν τόδε
ψυχὴν *διέφθαρκ'*· οἴχομαι δὲ (...) (E. *Med.* 225-6)

4. εἴρηκε, πεποίηκε, γέγραφε and the like are commonly used for referring to the author of a saying, a book &c.:[65]

[10] Ἕκτωρ γὰρ τοῖς Τρωσὶ παρακελευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τάδε *εἴρηκεν* (Lycurg. 103),

[12] ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι *τετίμακεν* δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὅς αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν
θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει.
εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι·

and

[185] ὡς Ὅμηρος τοῦτο *δεδήλωκεν*, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἅμα τῇ παραδόσει *εἴρηκεν* αὐτὸν πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργει παντὶ ἀνάσσειν (Thuc. I.9[4])

are not meant to be assertions of past fact: the speaker is citing an authority in order to confirm the correctness of his belief.

In

[186] Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος *ξυνέγραψε* τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, (...) (Thuc. I.1[1])

Thucydides, at the beginning of his book, is informing his future readers[66] that he is the one who wrote down the history of the Peloponnesian war, and that he started doing so at the very outbreak of the war because he believed that it was going to be more worth writing about than any of those which had taken place in the past.

[13] *γέγραφε* δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἑξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο (Thuc. V.26.1)

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[65] Cf. note 5, and the use of σεσίγηκε, illustrated in note 39 above.

[66] Cf. the use of the Aorist in the so-called 'Künstlerinschriften' (see note 127 in the first part of this book). It is, of course, significant that, by using a past tense, Thucydides makes it clear that he is reckoning with a future readership. Contrast Hecataeus, who, at the start of his work, opted for a Present: Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι (*fr.* 1).

is to be read as a kind of σφραγίς, a 'seal', that shows that the author of the book is still the same Thucydides. In

[187] γέγραπται δὲ ἑξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα (Thuc. II.1)

we have a Passive Perfect, since, this time, the issue is not the identity of the author, but the organisation of his report of the war (cf. V.20[3], 24[2]).

5.3. *Postscript*

As we have said in our Preface, we have made no attempt to write the complete history of the synthetic Perfect from Homer up to its final disappearance from the Greek language. Yet, the above argument seems to enable one to make a couple of observations that may be relevant to the subject.

The situation that is found in Homer can be characterized as the co-existence of a more or less independent Perfect system (Perfect, Pluperfect, Future Perfect) for describing present past and future states and a separate system (Present, Imperfect/Aorist, Future) for stating present, past and future 'facts'. Apart from the fact that some typical Homeric types of usage have persisted in the poetic idiom as we find it in lyric and dramatic poetry, in the preclassical period, the two systems tend to coalesce into one encompassing 'standard' paradigm, as, for instance, in

πείθω, πείσω, ἔπεισα, πέπεικα,
πείθομαι, πείσομαι, ἐπείσθην, πέπεισμαι.

When we realize that, in the earlier stages of the language, there was a semantic overlap between Middle-Passive and Perfect, the natural result of this seems to be that *Passive* Perfect forms derived from Action verbs (λέλειπται, ἠδίκηται), so to speak, were perfectly at home in the archaic Greek verb system, whereas the corresponding Active Perfect forms (λέλοιπε, ἠδίκηκε) only came in when the – originally more or less independent – Perfect system was integrated into the Verb paradigm as a whole.

From a semantic point of view, the parameters that regulate the relation between Present, Future and Aorist stem forms are essentially different from those that are relevant to the Perfect forms. Moreover, the semantic characteristics of the Perfect 1) work out in a variety of different ways, according to the type of Situation referred to, and 2) for some types of Situation, are of such a nature as to make it difficult to find out for what precise reason a Perfect form has been

preferred. In Atticist prose, the correct use of the (Active) Perfect was, not without reason, one of the hallmarks of one's command of the niceties of the classical idiom.

As far as States and Positions are concerned we have observed that the language tends to eliminate what in many cases can be felt as a kind of doublet, and to maintain either the Perfect or the Present forms. As a side-effect of this, the number of cases of a Perfect 'competing' with a Present tends to become smaller, and this may well have strengthened the language user's feeling that correctly using the Perfect is primarily a matter of knowing when to prefer a Perfect rather than an Aorist form. Combined with the fact that the appropriateness of a Perfect form depends upon criteria that are difficult to master, this may have weakened the position of the Perfect, particularly vis à vis the Aorist. This would accord with the fact that, among the signs of the gradual decline of the language users' competence in correctly using the Perfect, there are clear indications of Perfect and Aorist being associated, and, in certain respects, even assimilated.

We have not gone systematically into the matter, but one may perhaps point to some of the more telling phenomena, such as

– cases where we find Perfect and Aorist together, and are unable to trace any referential (or semantic) difference between the two, such as ἐκάθισεν καὶ εἰσελήλυθεν (Justin. Mart. *Apol.* I.32); ὃ ἑώρακε καὶ ἤκουσε, τοῦτο μαρτυρήσει (Joh. III.32); ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν τὸ βιβλίον ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου (*Apoc.* VIII.5).

– cases where, as Chantraine (1927, 244) has observed, we find the Perfect together with the particle ἄν, such as εἰ (...) σημεῖον εἴχομεν οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Ἱπποκράτης εἴρηκε (...) οὔτ' ἂν νῦν ἐθαύμαζον (Gal. IX.607), ἢ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἐπιβεβλήκαμεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἑβραίων τις ἐπιδέδωκεν (Orig. III.89), and, with a passive Perfect: οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι (...) (Orig. VIII.98).

– Ammonius' (IV A.D.) description of the difference between Aorist and Perfect (quoted by Chantraine, 245): ἀπέθανε καὶ τέθνηκε διαφέρει· ἀπέθανε μὲν νῦν, τέθνηκε δὲ πάλαι, ὡς περιεπάτησε μὲν ὁ δεῖνα σήμερον, περιπεπάτηκε δὲ πάλαι.[67]

These phenomena date from a period in which rhetorical training outside the main centers of civilization declined, and in which the number of those who, being themselves no native speakers of the language, had to learn it in school, increased.

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[67] This makes clear that, for Ammonius, the distinction between the two had become problematic: *Pace* Schwyzer–Debrunner 288: 'Ammonios' Definition ist nicht in diesem Sinne zu verwerten; sie ist nicht erschöpfend, enthält aber nichts Unrichtiges.'

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERFECT FORMS

In the tables below the material used in this study (cf. the Preface to Part II) is presented in tabular form, in the order Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (tragic poetry); Aristophanes (comic poetry); Thucydides (historical prose); Lysias (rhetorical prose); Xenophon *Opuscula* (various prose types).

In the first column under the name of the author ('Aeschylus' &c.) the lexemes supplying the perfect forms are given, arranged in alphabetical order. Compounds are grouped together with the corresponding simple verb; if the simple verb is not attested, the compound(s) is/are placed according to the alphabetical order of the simple verb (e.g. εἰσβάλλω under βάλλω). The lexeme is usually cited in the Active voice, except in the case of *media tantum* (e.g. ἀφικνέομαι) and in those cases where the perfect attested is clearly either Middle or Passive (e.g. the Middle perfect πέπαυμαι is cited under παύομαι, not παύω). In those cases where a difference in voice results in a different assignment in the columns Ch and Co (e.g. πείθω Ch + Co + as against πείθομαι Ch – Co +/–), or where the perfect attested corresponds to one of the two voices of the present stem only (e.g. ἕστηκα corresponds to ἵσταμαι, not to ἵστημι) the lexeme is given in both or in either one of the two voices (e.g. πείθω/πείθομαι or ἵσταμαι). ὁράω, εἶδον, ὄπωπα/ἑόρακα and λέγω, εἶπον, εἴρηκα/εἴρημαι are grouped together as one lexeme.

In the second ('PS') and third ('AS') column the general usage of the Present (PS) and Aorist (AS) stem of the lexeme is given, A standing for Active, M for Middle and P for Passive, – for no form attested. The Future stem is not included in this survey.

In the fourth ('Ch') and fifth ('Co') column the lexeme as such is characterized for the two parameters Change and Control by means of +, – or +/–. By combining the two parameters one gets the four Situations distinguished in this study (see the introduction to Chapter 3). Such an assignment is, in fact, hazardous, not to say impossible, because the assigment to a particular type of Situation can only be made in the case of a verb form *in its context* (see Note on Terminology). For the purpose of providing this general survey, however, an attempt has been made to give an assignment which comes as close as possible to the use of the lexeme in its various contexts. The difficulties involved explain the frequency of the assignment +/–.

In the last three columns the perfect forms are listed. The column 'Active' lists all perfect forms which are morphologically Active, irrespective of the way in which they are to be interpreted (transitive or intransitive &c.). The last two columns list the perfect forms which are morphologically Middle-Passive, but may be interpreted either as a Middle perfect or as a Passive perfect. Here again, the choice between a Middle or a Passive interpretation often is quite hard to make (cf. note 68).

In listing the perfect forms a distinction is made between, on the one hand, all forms of the finite verb and the infinitive, and, on the other, all forms of the participle. If there is only one perfect form attested, it is cited in that form (e.g. ἠγγελμένοις). In the case of more than one identical forms, these are cited in that form (e.g. γέγωνε 2× in Aeschylus). In the case of more than one different forms, these are cited as the first person singular of the indicative (e.g. ἀκήκοα 2× standing for ἀκήκοας and ἀκήκοε) or in the nominative singular masculine of the partciple (e.g. δεδηγμένος 2× standing for δεδηγμένον and δεδηγμένοις).

The passages where the Perfect Forms cited in the tables occur, are listed in the Index of Perfect Forms below. Information about the texts used &c. is given there.

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀγγέλλω	A	A	+	+			ἠγγελμένοις 1
προσάγω	–	–	+	+			προσηγμένον 1
ἀθροίζω	–	–	+	+			ἤθροιστο 1
αἱρέω	AM	AMP	+	+	ᾑρήκασιν 1		ᾑρημένη 1
ἀκούω	A	A	+/–	+/–	ἀκήκοα 2		
ἁλίσκομαι	P	P	+	–	ἑάλωκεν 1		
διαλλάσσομαι	–	–	+	+		διήλλαχθε 1	
παραμελέω	–	–	–	+			παρημελήμεθα 1
							παρημελημένον 1
ἀμπλακεῖν	–	A	+	+			ἠμπλάκηται 1
ἀπανθίζω	–	A	+	+			ἀπήνθισται 1
ἀνθρακόω	–	–	+	+			ἠνθρακωμένος 1
ἄνωγα	–	–	–	+	ἄνωγα 5		
ἀξιόω	AM	AMP	–	+			ἠξιωμένα 1
ἀραρίσκω	–	–	+	+	ἄραρεν 1		
ἐξαρτύω	M	–	+	+			ἐξηρτυμένοι 1
καταρτύω	–	–	+	+	καταρτυκώς 1		
ἀσκέω	A	–	+	+			ἠσκημένη 1
ἀπατιμάζω	–	–	+	+			ἀπητιμασμένη 1
ἀφεύω	–	–	+	+			ἠφευμένος 1
βαίνω	A	A*	+	+	βέβηκα 5		
					βεβηκός?[1] 1		
εἰσβαίνω	–	A*	+	+	ἐσβέβηκα 1		
ἐμβάλλω	–	A	+	+	ἐμβεβληκότα[2] 1		
προσβάλλω	A	A	+	+			-βεβλημένοις 1
βιβρώσκω	–	–	+	+			βεβρωμένας 1
βουλεύω	AM	A	+	+			βεβούλευται 2
γέγωνα	A	A	–	+	γέγωνε 2		
γεύομαι	M	M	–	+/–		γεγευμένη 1	
γηθέω	A	–	–	–	ἐγεγήθει 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	γεγόναμεν 1	γεγένηται 1	
γιγνώσκω	A	A*P	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 1		
γομφόω	–	–	+	+			γεγόμφωται 1
γράφω	M	M	+	+			γέγραπται 1
							γεγραμμένος 3
ἐγγράφω	AM	–	+	+			ἐγγεγραμμένα 1
γυμνάζω	M	A	+	+	γεγυμνάκασιν 1		
δάκνω	A	AP	+	+			δεδηγμένος 2
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 8		
					δέδια 2		
					δεδοικώς 1		
ὑπερδέδοικα	–	–	–	–	ὑπερδέδοικεν 1		

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

[1] F 451c,3 βεβ.κ.σ.

[2] ἐμβεβληκότα Sept. 583 is transitive.

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
δέρκομαι	M	AP	–	–	δέδορκα 5		
					δεδορκώς 5		
προσδέρκομαι	M	AP	–	–	προσδέδορκ 1		
δέχομαι	M	M	+	+		δέδεγμαι 2	
						δεδεγμένη 2	
δίδωμι	A	AP	+	+	δέδωκα 1		δέδοται 1
δοκέω	A	A	–	–	δεδόκηκεν 1	δέδοκται 1	
ἐνδύομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐνδεδυμένος 1	
δωματόομαι	–	–	+	+		δεδωμάτωμαι 1	
ἐγείρομαι	–	–	+	–	ἐγρηγορός 2		
προσεδαφίζω	–	–	+	+			προσηδάφισται 1
ἐξεικάζω	–	–	+	+			ἐξηκασμένος 2
ἐλαύνω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐληλαμέναι 1
ἔλπομαι	M?[1]	–	–	–	ἔολπα?[1] 1		
ἐμπολάω	–	–	+	+	ἠμποληκότα 1		
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα 18		
					εἰκώς 3		
ἐπέοικα	–	–	–	–	ἐπεικότα 1		
ἐργάζομαι	–	M	+	+		εἴργασται 1	εἴργασμαι 2
							εἰργασμένος 1
ἐξεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐξειργασμένος 3
κατεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			κατείργασται 1
ἔρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐλήλυθεν 1		
εὑρίσκω	A	AMP	+	+/–	ηὕρηκα 1		ηὑρῆσθαι 1
ἐνζεύγνυμι	P?[2]	A	+	+			ἐνέζευγμαι 1
ἐφηλόω	–	–	+	+			ἐφήλωται 1
ἡμερόω	–	–	+	+			ἡμερωμένην 1
θάλλω	A	–	–	–	τεθαλώς 1		
θάλπω	A	–	+	+			τέθαλπται 1
θάπτω	A	AP	+	+			τεθάφθαι 1
προθεσπίζω	–	–	+	+	προυτεθεσπίκει 1		
θήγω	A	–	+	+			τεθηγμένος 3
θνήσκω	A	A	+	–	τέθνηκα 9		
					τεθνηκώς 9		
					τεθνεῶτα 1		
θύω	AM	AP	+	+			τεθυμένῳ 2
ἱδρύω	–	A	+	+			ἱδρῦσθαι 1
							ἱδρυμένας 1
ἀφιερόω	–	–	+	+			ἀφιερώμεθα 1
καθιερόω	–	–	+	+			καθιερωμένος 1
ἀνίημι	–	A	+	+			ἀνεῖται 2
μεθίημι	A	AM	+	+			μεθεῖται 1
παρίημι	–	A	+	+			παρειμένον 1
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–		ἀφῖξαι 1	

[1] F 451d,1 [.]εμελπομα[and F 204b,10 [.]ολ[..]ω.
[2] F 132a.8,7 ζε]ύγνυται μελα[.

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα	4				
					ἑστῶτες	1				
μεθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	μεθέστηκε	1				
παρίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	παρέστακεν	1				
					παρεστώς	3				
καίνυμαι	–	–	–	–			κεκασμένον	1		
καλέω	AMP	–	+/–	+					κέκλημαι	5
									κεκλημένος	3
κάμνω	A	A	–	–	κεκμηκότων	1				
ἐκκενόω	–	A	+	+					ἐκκεκενωμένα	1
κεράννυμι	–	–	+	+					κεκραμένη	1
συγκεράννυμι	–	–	+	+					συγκεκραμένα	1
κεύθω	A	–	–	+/–	κέκευθεν[1]	2				
					κεκευθώς	1				
κλάζω	A	A	–	+	κέκλαγγεν	1				
κλαίω	AM	A	–	+			κεκλαυμένος	2	κεκλαυμένου	1
κλῄω	–	A	+	+					κεκλῃμένην	1
κλίνομαι	–	–	–	–			κέκλιται	1		
κολλάω	–	–	+	+					κεκόλληται	1
κόπτω	A	AP	+	+					κέκοπται	1
									κεκομμένος	1
κράζω	–	–	–	+	κέκραγα	2				
κραίνω	AP	AP	+	+					κέκρανται	2
κρατέω	A	AP	–	–	κεκράτηκεν	1				
κρύπτω	A	AP	+	+					κεκρυμμένος	2
κτάομαι	–	M	+	+			(κ)εκτημένος	4		
κατακτείνω	–	A	+	+	κατέκτονας	1				
κυρόω	–	A	+	+					κεκύρωται	2
λαγχάνω	–	A	+	–	εἴληχεν	2				
					εἰληχότα	1				
λαμβάνω	A	AP	+	+					λελημμένης	1
λήθομαι	M	–	+	–			λέληνται?[2]	1		
λάσκω	A	A	–	+	λέλακα	2				
λέγω	A	A	+	+					λελεγμένος	4
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	A	+	+	εἴρηκα	2			εἴρηται	2
									εἰρημένος	5
λείπω	A	A	+	+					λελειμμένων	1
λείπομαι	M	M*	+	–			λελειμμένος	3		
ἐκλείπω					ἐκλέλοιπα[3]	2				
λίπτομαι	–	–	–	–			λελιμμένος	2		
ἐκλούω	–	–	+	+			ἐκλέλουμαι?[4]	1		
λύω	A	AMP	+	+					λέλυται	2
μαίνομαι	M	–	–	–	μεμηνότα	1				

[1] κέκευθεν Pers. 649, Cho. 687 are transitive; κεκευθώς Sept. 588 is intransitive.
[2] F 451n,8 = λελησμένοι εἰσί?
[3] ἐκλέλοιπεν Pers. 126 sq., F 451o,53,1 are transitive.
[4] F 25a,1 †ἐκλέλουμαι†.

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
μαργόομαι	–	–	–	–		μεμαργωμένοι 1	
μείγνυμι	M	AP	+	+			μέμειχται 1
μείρομαι	–	–	+	–			εἱμαρμένα 1
μέμονα	–	–	–	–	μέμονας 1		
προσμηχανάομαι	–	–	+	+			-μεμηχανημένος 2
μιμνήσχομαι	–	M	–	–		μέμνημαι 12 μεμνημένος 3	
ἐχμοχθέω	–	–	+	+	ἐχμεμόχθηχεν 1		
μυχάομαι	–	–	–	+	μέμυχε 1		
νιχάω	AP	A	+/–	–			νενίχησθε 1
χαταξενόομαι	–	–	+	+			χατεξενωμένον 1
οἶδα χάτοιδα σύνοιδα	– – –	– – –	– – –	– – –	οἶδα 64 εἰδώς 16 χάτοιδα 2 χατειδώς 1 σύνοιδα 2		
οἰνόω	–	–	+	+			ᾠνωμένον 1
οἴχομαι	M	–	+/–	+/–	ᾤχωχεν 1		
ὄλλυμαι ἀπόλλυμαι διόλλυμαι	M AM M	M AM M	+ + +	– – –	ὄλωλα 5 ὀλωλώς 4 ἀπολωλότας 1 διόλωλεν 1		
ὀμματόω	–	A	+	+			ὠμματωμένην 1
ὄμνυμι	A	–	+	+			ὀμώμοται 1
ὀνομάζω	A	A	+	+			ὠνομασμέναι 1
ὁπλίζω	–	–	+	+			ὡπλισμένη 1
ὁράω	AP	–	+/–	+/–	ὄπωπα 1		ὦπται 1
χατορθόω	–	–	+	+			χατώρθωσαι 1
ὁρμάω ὁρμάομαι	A M	– –	+ +/–	+ +/–		 ὥρμηται 1	ὡρμημένος 1
ὄρνυμαι	M	M	+	+/–	ὀρώρει 1		
ἀπορφανίζω	–	–	+	+			-ωρφανισμένους 1
οὐτάζω	–	–	+	+			οὐτασμένος 1
πάλλω	AP	–	+	+			πέπαλται 1 πεπαλμένη 1
πάομαι	–	?[1]	?	?		πεπαμένος 2	
πασσαλεύω	A	A	+	+			πε-ευμένος 1
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πέπονθα 2		
παύομαι	M	M	+	+		πέπαυμαι 2 πεπαυμένοι 1	
πείθω πείθομαι	A M	AP M	+ –	+ +/–	 πέποιθα 12 πεποιθώς 6		πεπεισμένος 2
πέμπω	AP	A	+	+			πέπεμπται 1
περάω	A	A	+	+	πεπέραχεν 1		

[1] F 215 ἐπάσω = Hsch. ε 4255 Latte ἐπάσω: ἐχτήσω.

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πήγνυμαι	–	M*	+	–	πέπηγεν 1		
πίνω	AM	A	+	+	πέπωκεν 1		
					πεπωκώς 1		
πιπράσκω	–	P	+	+			πεπραμένοι 1
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πέπτωκα 4		
					πεπτωκώς 3		
πλανάομαι	M	–	–	+/–		πεπλάνημαι 1	
πλάσσω	–	–	+	+			πεπλασμένος 1
πλεκτανάομαι	–	–	+	+			πεπλεκτανημέναι 1
πλήσσω	–	AP	+	+			πέπληγμαι 6
							πεπληγμένος 9
ἐκπλήσσω	–	AP	+	+			ἐκπεπληγμένη 1
ἐμποδίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐμπεποδισμένον 1
ποιμαίνω	A	–	–	+			πεποίμανται 1
πορεῖν	–	A	+	+			πέπρωται 5
							πεπρωμένος 7
πορθέω	AP	–	+	+			πεπόρθημαι 2
διαπορθέω	–	–	+	+			διαπεπόρθηται 1
ποτάομαι	M	–	–	+		πεπόταται 1	
ἐπιποτάομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐπὶ ... πεπόταται 1	
πράσσω	AM	AMP	+/–	+/–		πέπραχται 1	πέπραχται 1
							πεπραγμένος 4
διαπράσσω	A	P	+	+			διαπεπραγμένος 4
πτοέω	–	–	–	–			ἐπτοημένος 2
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–		πέπυσθε 1	
						πεπυσμένος 3	
ῥαίνω	–	–	+	+			ἔρρανται 1
ῥήγνυμαι	–	M*	+	–	ἔρρωγεν 1		
καταρρινάω	–	–	+	+			κατερρινημένους 1
ῥυθμίζω	–	A	+	+			ἐρρύθμισμαι 1
σαλεύω	–	–	+	+			σεσάλευται 1
σάσσω	–	–	+	+			σεσαγμένον 1
κατασβέννυμαι	–	–	+	–	κατεσβήκασιν 1		
παρασκευάζομαι	M	–	+	+		-εσκευασμένος 3	
σπανίζω	A	–	+	+			ἐσπανίσμεθα 1
ὑποσπανίζω	–	–	+	+			ὑπεσπανισμένος 2
κατασποδέω	–	–	+	+			κατεσποδημένοι 1
στέλλω	AM	A	+	+			ἐσταλμένον 1
ἐπιστέλλω	A	–	+	+			ἐπέσταλται 3
							ἐπεσταλμένα 1
στερέω	AP	P	+	+			ἐστερημένον 1
στέφω	A	–	+	+			ἐστεμμένος 3
στομόω	–	–	+	+			ἐστομωμένας 1
ἐξαναστρέφω	–	–	+	+			ἐξανέστραπται 1
καταστρέφω	A	–	+	+			κατέστραμμαι 1
σφραγίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐσφραγισμένος 1
κατασφραγίζω	–	–	+	+			-εσφραγισμένα 1
σχηματίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐσχημάτισται 1

Aeschylus	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
σῴζω	AMP	AP	+/–	+			σέσωμαι 3
							σεσωμένος 4
συνταράσσω	–	?[1]	+	+			ξυντετάρακται 1
τάσσω	AM	AP	+	+			τέτακται 2
							τεταγμένος 5
προστάσσω	–	P	+	+			προστεταγμένον 1
τελέω	AP	AP	+	+			τετέλεσται 1
τέμνω	A	A	+	+			τετμημένος 1
τετραίνω	–	–	+	+			τέτρηται 1
τεύχω	A	AP	+	+			τέτυκται 1
							τετυγμένον 1
διατιμάω	–	–	+/–	+			διατετίμηται 1
τιτρώσκω	–	A	+	+			τετρωμένους 1
τολμάω	A	A	+/–	+	τετολμηκώς 1		
τοξεύω	–	A	+	+			τετόξευται 1
τραυματίζω	–	–	+	+			τε-ατισμένον 1
τρέπω	A	AMP	+	+			τετραμμένου 1
τρέφω	AP	AMP	+	+			τεθραμμένος 2
προστρίβω	P	–	+	+			προστετριμμένον 1
τύπτω	A	AP	+	+			τετυμμένος 3
φαίνω	A	–	+	+			πέφανται 1
							πεφασμένου 1
φαίνομαι	M	M*	+	–	πέφηνε 1		
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	πέφευγα 3		
					πεφευγότες 1		
ἐκφεύγω	–	A	+	+	ἐκπέφευγεν 1		
φθείρω	A	AP	+	+			ἐφθαρμένων 1
καταφθείρω	–	A	+	+			κατέφθαρται 3
ἐκφθίνω	–	–	+	+			ἐξέφθινται 2
φράζω	AM	AM	+	+		πέφρασμαι 1	
						πεφρασμένος 1	
φρίσσω	A	A	–	–	πέφρικα 4		
διαφρουρέω	–	–	–	+			διαπεφρούρηται 1
φυκιόω	–	–	+	+			πεφυκίωται?[2] 1
φύρω	A	P	+	+			πεφυρμένον 1
ἐμφύρω	–	–	+	+			ἐμπεφυρμένοι 1
φύομαι	–	M*	+	–	πέφυκα 3		
χειρόομαι	MP	–	+	+			κεχειρωμένας 1
χέω	A	M	+	+			κεχυμένων 1
χρηματίζομαι	–	–	+	+		κε-ίσθαι?[3] 1	
χρήομαι	–	–	–	–		κεχρημένοι 1	
ὠφελέω	A	–	+	+			ὠφελημένος 1

[1] F 451s.29,5 συνταραξ.[.
[2] F 46a,13 [π]εφυκ̣ί̣[ω]ται.
[3] F 429 †κεχρηματεῖσθαι†.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀγριόομαι	–	–	+	–		ἠγρίωσαι 1	
ἀπαγριόομαι	–	–	+	–		ἀπηγριωμένον 1	
ἀνάγω	A	–	+	+			ἀνῆκτο 1
παράγω	P	A	+	+			παρηγμένους 1
ἀγωνίζομαι	–	–	+	+		ἠγωνισμένοι 1	
ἀδικέω	A	P	+	+	ἠδικηκότες 1		
αἱρέω	A	AMP	+	+			ᾑρῆσθαι 1
αἴρω	AM	AMP	+	+			ἠρμένοι 1
ἀκούω	A	A	+/–	+/–	ἀκήκοας 6		
					ἀκηκοώς 1		
ἀλλάσσομαι	–	M*	+	–		ἤλλακται 1	
ἀπαλλάσσομαι	–	M*	+	–		ἀπήλλαγμαι 1	
						ἀπηλλάχθαι 2	
ἐναλλάσσομαι	–	–	+	–		ἐνήλλακται 1	
ἐπαμαξεύω	–	–	+	+			ἐπημαξευμένη 1
ἁμαρτάνω	A	A	+	–	ἡμαρτηκότες 1		ἡμαρτημένος 4
ἐξαμάω	A	–	+	+			ἐξημημένος 1
ἀπαμελέω	–	–	–	+			ἀπημελημένον 1
ἀναλοχίζω	–	–	+	+			ἀνηλόχισμαι 1
ἀνθέω	A	–	–	–	ἤνθηκεν 1		
ἀνθίζω	–	–	+	+			ἠνθισμένον 1
κατανθρακόω	–	–	+	+			-ηνθρακωμένον 1
ἄνωγα	–	–	–	+	ἄνωγα 8		
ἀπατάω	P	A	+	+	ἠπάτηκας 1		ἠπάτημαι 1
							ἠπατημένος 2
ἐπαπειλέω	A	A	+	+			ἐπηπειλημένοι 1
καταπειλέω	–	+	+	+			κατηπειλημένων 1
ἅπτομαι	M	–	+	+		ἧπται 1	
ἐνάπτω	–	–	+	+			ἐνημμένοις 1
καθάπτω	–	A	+	+			καθημμένος 2
καταργυρόω	–	–	+	+			κατηργυρωμένος 1
ἁρμόζω	A	A	+	+			ἥρμοσται 1
							ἡρμοσμένα 1
ἀσκέω	A	A	+	+	ἠσκηκότες 1		ἠσκημένος 3
ἀφανίζω	–	+	+	+			ἠφάνισμαι 2
βαίνω	A	A*	+	+	βέβηκα 26		
					βεβηκώς 3		
					βεβώς 10		
ἐκβαίνω	–	A*	+	+	ἐκβέβηκεν 1		
ἐμβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐμβεβώς 2		
συμβαίνω	A	A*	+/–	+/–	συμβέβηκεν 2		
βακχιόω	–	–	+	+			βεβακχιωμένην 1

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
διαβάλλω	–	A	+	+			διαβεβλημέν 1
ἐκβάλλω	A	A	+	+	ἐκβεβληκώς 2		ἐκβεβλημένος 3
ἐμβάλλω	A	AM	+	+	ἐμβεβληκότα[1] 1		
συμβάλλω	A	AM	+	+			συμβεβλημένα 1
βαρβαρόω	–	–	+	+			βεβαρβαρωμένῳ 1
ἐκβιάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐκβεβιασμένον 1
βιβρώσκω	–	–	+	+	βέβρωκε 1		
					βεβρῶτες 1		
βουλεύω	AM	AM	+	+	βεβουλευκώς 1	βεβούλευμαι 5	
βρυχάομαι	M	P	–	+	βέβρυχα 1		
γέγωνα	–	–	–	+	γέγωνα 2		
γηθέω	–	–	–	–	γέγηθας 1		
					γεγηθώς 3		
γηράσκω	A	A	+	–	γεγήρακε 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	γεγώς 16		
γιγνώσκω	A	A*	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 6		
ἐγγράφω	–	–	+	+			ἐγγεγραμμένην 1
δαιμονίζω	–	–	+	+			δεδαιμονισμένον 1
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδια 1		
					δέδοικα 15		
ὑπερδέδοικα	–	A	–	–	ὑπερδέδοικα 1		
δείκνυμι	A	A	+	+			δεδειγμένα 1
δέρκομαι	M	P	–	–	δέδορκα 8		
					δεδορκώς 5		
δέχομαι	M	M	+	+		δέδεκται 1	
						δεδεγμένοις 1	
διαδέχομαι	–	–	+	+		διαδεδεγμένη 1	
εἰσδέχομαι	M	M	+	+		εἰσδέδεγμαι 1	
παρεισδέχομαι	–	–	+	+		παρεισδέδεγμαι 1	
προσδέχομαι	–	–	+	+		προσδεδεγμένη 1	
δίδωμι	A	AP	+	+	δέδωκα 3		
προδίδωμι	–	A	+	+			προδέδομαι 1
δοκέω	A	A	–	–		δέδοκται 5	
						δεδογμένα 2	
δράσσομαι	–	–	+	+		δεδραγμένος 1	
δράω	AP	A	+	+	δέδρακα 8		
					δεδρακώς 4		
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἰωθόσιν 1		
ἐλαύνω	AP	–	+	+			ἐλήλαται 1
ἐξελαύνω	AP	–	+	+	ἐξελήλακεν[2] 1		ἐξελήλαμαι 3
ἐμπολάω	A	AP	+	+	ἠμπόληκας 1		
ἐξεμπολάω	–	–	+	+			ἐξημπόλημαι 1
κατεναρίζω	–	–	+	+			κατηναρισμένος 1
ἕννυμαι	–	–	+	+		εἱμένος 1	

1 ἐμβεβληκότα OC 1392 is transitive.
2 ἐξελήλακεν OC 376 is transitive.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα	34				
					ἐοικώς	1				
ἐπέοικα	–	–	–	–	ἐπεικότα	1				
προσέοικα	–	–	–	–	προσεικότα	1				
ἐργάζομαι	M	M	+	+			εἴργασμαι	10	εἰργασμένα	2
							εἰργασμένος	2		
ἐξεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐξειργασμένος	6	ἐξειργασμένος	2
ἔρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐλήλυθα	9				
					ἐληλυθώς	1				
εἰσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	εἰσελήλυθας	1				
ἐξέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐξελήλυθεν	1				
					ἐξεληλυθώς	2				
εὑρίσκω	AMP	AMP	+	+/–	ηὕρηκα	1			ηὕρημαι	3
									ηὑρημένα	1
ἐφευρίσκω	P	AP	+	+/–	ἐφηύρηκα	2				
					ἐφηύρημαι	1				
εὔχομαι	M	M	+	+			ηὔγμην	2		
ζεύγνυμι	–	AP	+	+					ἐζευγμένην	1
συγκαταζεύγνυμι	–	–	+	+					συγκατέζευκται	1
ἡσσάομαι	M	–	+/–	–					ἡσσημένοις	1
θάλλω	A	–	–	–	τέθηλε	1				
θαμβέω	–	–	–	–	τεθάμβηκα	1				
ἐνθερμαίνω	–	–	+	+					ἐντεθέρμανται	1
θεσπίζω	A	A	+	+					τεθέσπισται	1
θήγω	A	–	+	+					τεθηγμένη	1
θησαυρίζω	–	–	+	+					τεθησαυρισμένη	1
θνῄσκω	A	A	+	–	τέθνηκα	23				
					τεθνηκώς	12				
θρυλέω	–	–	+	+					τεθρύληται	1
ἱδρύομαι	–	–	+	+					ἱδρῦσθαι	2
ἀνίημι	A	A	+	+					ἀνεῖται	1
									ἀνειμένος	2
ἀφίημι	A	AM	+	+					ἀφεῖται	1
ἐξαφίημι	–	–	+	+					ἐξαφεῖται	1
παρίημι	A	AM	+	+	παρεῖκα	1			παρεῖτο	1
ὑφίεμαι	–	–	+	+			ὑφειμένος	2		
ἱκνέομαι	M	M	+	–			ἵγμεθα	1		
							ἱγμένοις	1		
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–			ἀφῖγμαι	6		
							ἀφιγμένος	6		

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα 10		
					ἑστώς 5		
ἀμφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀμφέστηκα 2		
ἐξανίσταμαι	M	–	+	+	ἐξανέστηκε 1		
ἐφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἐφεστᾶσι 1		
					ἐφεστώτων 1		
καθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	καθέστηκα 5		
					καθεστώτων 1		
παρίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	παρέστηκα 2		
					παρεστώς 8		
καίνω	A	A	+	+	κέκονα 1		
καλέω	AMP	AP	+/–	+			κέκλημαι 7
							κεκλημένος 2
κάμνω	A	A	–	–	κεκμηκότων 1		
ἐκκείρω	–	–	+	+			ἐκκεκαρμένος 1
συγκεράννυμι	–	P	+	+			συγκέκραμαι 1
							συγκεκραμένην 1
κεύθω	A	–	–	+/–	κέκευθεν[1] 3		
					κεκευθότοιν[1] 1		
ἐκκηρύσσω	–	P	+	+			ἐκκεκήρυγμαι 2
κιθαρίζω	–	–	+	+	κεκιθάρικεν 1		
κλάζω	A	A	–	+	κέκλαγγεν 1		
κλαίω	A	AM	–	+		κεκλαυμέναι 1	
κλέπτω	AP	A	+	+			κεκλέμμεθα 1
κληματόομαι	–	–	+	–		κεκλημάτωται 1	
κλῄω	–	–	+	+			κέκληται 1
							κεκλῃμένην 1
ἐγκλῄω	–	A	+	+			ἐγκεκλῃμένος 3
κλίνομαι	M	M*	–	+/–		κεκλιμένος 1	
ἐσκομίζω	A	–	+	+			ἐσκεκόμισται 1
κράζω	–	–	–	+	κέκραγας 1		
κρύπτω	AMP	AMP	+	+			κέκρυπται 1
							κεκρυμμένος 8
ἐγκρύπτω	–	–	+	+			ἐγκεκρυμμένη 1
κτάομαι	M	M	+	+		κεκτημένος 2	
ἀνακτάομαι	–	–	+	+		ἀνέκτημαι 1	
ἐκκωπέω	–	–	+	+			ἐκκεκώπηται 1
κωφάω	–	–	+	+		κεκώφησαι 1	
λαγχάνω	A	A	+	–	εἴληχεν 2		
					εἰληχώς 1		
					λελογχότα 1		
ἐκλαγχάνω	–	A	+	–	ἐξειληχότες 1		
ἐπιλαγχάνω	–	–	+	+	ἐπιλέλογχε 1		

[1] κέκευθε and κεκευθότοιν are intransitive in El. 869, Ant. 911, OC 1523; κέκευθε is transitive in El. 1120.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
λαμβάνω	A	AMP	+	+	εἴληφα 1		λέλημμαι 1
					εἰληφώς 2		
ἐπιλαμβάνω	–	–	+	+			ἐπείλημπται 1
λαμπρύνω	–	–	+	+			λελάμπρυνται 1
λανθάνω	A	A	–	–	λέληθα 3		
λήθομαι	M	–	–	–		λελῆσθαι 1	
λέγω	AP	AP	+	+			λέλεγμαι 3
							λελεγμένος 2
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–		+	+	εἴρηκα 10		εἴρηται 2
					εἰρηκώς 3		εἰρημένος 7
ἀντερῶ	–		+	+	ἀντειρηκότος 1		
ἐκλέγω	–	–	+	+			ἐκλελεγμένοις 1
ἐξείρηκα	–		+	+	ἐξείρηκα 2		ἐξείρητο 1
λείπω	AMP	A	+	+	λέλοιπεν[1] 1		λέλειμμαι 4
					λελοιπότα[1] 1		λελειμμένος 4
ἀπολείπω	AM	–	+	+	ἀπολέλοιπεν[2] 1		
ἐκλείπω	–	A	+	+	ἐκλέλοιπεν[3] 2		
ἐλλείπω	A	–	+	+			ἐλλελειμμένον 1
μαίνομαι	M	M	–	–	μέμηνα 2		
					μεμηνότα 1		
ἐκμάσσω	–	A	+	+			ἐκμεμαγμένα 1
μείγνυμι	A	P	+	+			μεμιγμένων 1
ἀναμείγνυμι	–	–	+	+			ἀναμεμιγμένοι 1
μείρομαι	–	–	+	–			εἱμαρμένα 1
ἐμμέμονα	–	–	–	–	ἐμμέμονεν 1		
ἐπιμέμονα	–	–	–	–	ἐπιμέμονεν 1		
μηχανάω	AM	–	+	+			μεμηχάνηται 1
μιμνῄσκομαι	–	M[4]	–	–		μέμνημαι 6	
						μεμνημένος 2	
μωλύνω	–	–	+	+			μεμωλυσμένη 1
ναυστολέω	A	–	+	+	νε-στοληκότες 1		
νοέω	AM	–	–	–		νένωται 1	
ξενίζω	A	A	+	+			ἐξενίσμεθα 1
ξενόομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐξενωμένου 1	
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 203		
					εἰδώς 27		
δίοιδα	–	–	–	–	διειδέναι 1		
ἔξοιδα	–	–	–	–	ἔξοιδα 22		
					ἐξειδώς 2		
κάτοιδα	–	–	–	–	κάτοιδα 25		
					κατειδώς 2		
ξύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	ξύνοιδα 4		
					ξυνειδώς 3		

[1] λέλοιπεν Trach. 327 and λελοιπότα El. 1444 are transitive.
[2] ἀπολέλοιπεν El. 185 is transitive.
[3] ἐκλέλοιπεν El. 19, 1149 is intransitive.
[4] AS M = both ἐμνησάμην and ἐμνήσθην.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
οἰκέω	AP	A	–	+	ᾤκηκεν 1		
κατοικέω	A	A	–	+		κατῴκηνται 1	
συγκατοικέω	–	–	–	+	συγκατῴκηκεν 1		
οἰνόω	–	P	+	+			ᾠνωμένος 1
οἴχομαι	M	–	+/–	+/–	οἴχωκα 2		
ὄλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ὄλωλα 16 ὀλωλότα 12		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπόλωλα 5		
ἐξόλλυμαι	–	–	+	–	ἐξολωλότος 1		
ἐξομματόω	–	–	+	+			ἐξωμμάτωται 1
ὀνομάζω	MP	P	+	+			ὠνόμασται 1 ὠνομασμένος 2
ἐπονομάζω	–	–	+	+			ἐπωνομασμένην 1
ὁπλίζω	A	–	+	+			ὡπλισμένῳ 1
ὀπτάω	–	–	+	+			ὠπτημένων 1
ὁράω	AMP	AMP	+/–	+/–	ὄπωπα 5		
ὀρκωμοτέω	A	–	+	+	ὠρκωμότηκεν 1		
ὁρμάομαι	M	M*	+/–	+/–		ὡρμημένος 1	
ἐξορμάομαι	M	–	+	+/–	ἐξώρμηκεν[1] 1		
ὄρνυμαι	M	M	+	+/–	ὠρώρει 1		
ὀρφανίζω	–	–	+	+			ὠρφανισμένος 1
ἀφοσιόω	–	–	+	+			ἀφωσιωμέναι 1
συνοφρυόομαι	–	–	+	+		συνωφρυωμένη 1	
παραπαίω	–	–	+	+			παραπεπαισμέν 1
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πέπονθα 8 πεπονθώς 5		
παύομαι	–	M	+	+		πέπαυμαι 3 πεπαυμένος 2	
πείθομαι	M	M	+	+/–	πέποιθα 3		
πειραίνω	–	A	+	+			πεπείρανται 1
πειράομαι	M	M*	+	+		πεπείρασαι 1	
πήγνυμαι	–	–	+	–	πέπηγε 1		
πίνω	AP	A	+	+	πέπωκεν 1		
πιπράσκω	–	P	+	+			πέπραμαι 1
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πέπτωκα 2 πεπτώς 4 πεπτωκώς 2		
ἐκπίπτω	–	A	+	–	ἐκπεπτωκότα 1		
ἐμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐμπέπτωκεν 3		
συμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	συμπεπτωκότα 1		
ἐμπλέκω	–	–	+	+			ἐμπεπλεγμένην 1
πλέω	A	A	+	+	πέπλευκα 2		
πλήσσω	–	P	+	+			πέπληγμαι 1 πεπληγμένην 1
ἐκπλήσσω	–	P	+	+			ἐκπέπληγμαι 3 ἐκπεπληγμένος 2

[1] ἐξώρμηκεν Trach. 1089 is intransitive.

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ποικιλόω	–	–	+	+	πεποικίλωκε	1				
πονέω	A	A	–	+			πεπονημένος	1		
πορεῖν	–	A	+	+					πεπρωμένος	2
διαπορθέω	–	–	+	+					διαπεπόρθημαι	1
ἐκπορθέω	–	–	+	+					ἐκπεπόρθημαι	1
πράσσω	AP	AMP	+/–	+/–					πέπρακται	1
									πεπραγμένος	4
διαπράσσω	–	–	+	+					διαπεπραγμένου	1
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–			πεπυσμένος	3		
καταρρακόω	–	–	+	+					κατερρακωμένος	1
καταρρέω	–	–	+	–	κατερρυηκότι	1				
παραρρέω	–	–	+	–	παρερρύηκεν	1				
ῥήγνυμαι	–	M*	+	–	ἔρρωγεν	2				
παραρρήγνυμαι	–	–	+	–	παρέρρωγεν	1				
ῥιζόομαι	–	–	+	–			ἐρριζωμένον	1		
καταρρικνόομαι	–	–	+	+					κατερρικνωμένος	1
ῥίπτω	A	AP	+	+					ἐρριμμένα	1
ἐπισκιάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐπεσκιασμένη	1		
ὑποσπανίζω	–	–	+	+					ὑπεσπανισμένον	1
στέλλω	AM	AMP	+	+					ἐσταλμένον	1
στερέω	–	P	+	+					ἐστερημένος	4
ἀποστερέω	A	A	+	+	ἀπεστέρηκα	3			ἀπεστερημένος	3
ἐκστέφω	–	–	+	+					ἐξεστεμμένος	2
στιβέω	–	–	+	+					ἐστίβηται	1
σῴζω	AMP	AP	+/–	+					σεσώμεθα	1
									σεσωμένος	6
τάσσω	A	AP	+	+					τέτακται	1
									τεταγμένοι	2
προστάσσω	A	P	+	+					προστεταγμένον	1
τείνω	A	AP	+	+			τέταμαι?	2		
ἐκτείνω	–	P	+	+			ἐκτέταμαι?	3		
τελέω	AP	AP	+	+					τετελέσθαι	1
ἐντέλλω	A	–	+	+					ἐντεταλμένα	1
τέμνω	AP	A	+	+					τετμημένον	1
τήκομαι	M	–	+	–	τέτηκα	1				
ἐντήκομαι	M	M*	+	–	ἐντέτηκε	1				
προστήκομαι	–	M*	+	–	προστετακώς	1				
διατίλλω	–	–	+	+					διατετιλμένης	1
τιμάω	AP	AP	+/–	+					τετίμηνται	1
ἐκτιμάω	–	–	+/–	+					ἐκτετίμηνται	1
τρέπω	A	M*	+	+			τέτραπται?	1		
ἀνατρέπω	A	–	+	+	ἀνατέτροφας	1				
τρέφω	AP	AMP	+	+	τέτροφεν	1			τεθραμμένον	2
ἀφυστερέω	–	–	+	+			ἀφυστερήμεθα	1		

Sophocles	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
φαίνω	A	AP	+	+					πέφασμαι	5
									πεφασμένην	2
φαίνομαι	M	M*	+	–	πέφηνα	2				
					πεφηνότος	1				
ἀναφαίνομαι	–	–	+	–	ἀναπέφηνε	1				
ἐκφαίνω	M	AM	+	+					ἐκπεφασμένος	1
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	πέφευγα	4				
					πεφευγότες	1				
ἐκφεύγω	A	A	+	+	ἐκπεφευγοίην	1				
					ἐκπεφευγώς	1				
φθείρω	A	AP	+	+					ἔφθαρται	1
									ἐφθαρμένος	3
διαφθείρω	–	P	+	+	διέφθορεν[1]	1			διέφθαρμαι	1
φοβέομαι	M	–	–	–			πεφόβημαι	2		
διαφοιβάζω	–	–	+	+					διαπεφοιβάσθαι	1
ἐμφορτίζω	–	–	+	+					ἐμπεφόρτισμαι	1
ξυμφράζομαι	–	–	+	+			ξυμπέφρασται	1		
φράσσω	–	–	+	+					πεφραγμένον	1
φύομαι	M	M*	+	+	πέφυκα	22				
					πεφυκώς	4				
ἐκφύομαι	–	M*	+	+	ἐκπεφυκώς	2				
ἐμφύομαι	–	M*	+	+	ἐμπέφυκεν	2				
χέω	A	AMP	+	+					κέχυται	1
χρήομαι	–	–	–	–			κεχρημένοι	1		
ψεύδω/ομαι	AM	AMP	+	+			ἐψευσμένος	2	ἐψευσμένον	1
καταψήχω	–	–	+	+					κατέψηκται	1

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἐξαγγέλλω	M	A	+	+					ἐξηγγελμένοις	1
ὑπαγκαλίζω	A	–	+	+			ὑπηγκαλισμένη	1		
ἁγνίζω	M	AP	+	+			ἥγνισμαι	2		
καθαγνίζω	–	A	+	+					καθήγνισται	1
κατάγνυμι	–	A	+	+	κατέαγα	1				
ἀγρεύω	A	AM	+	+	ἠγρευκότες	1				
ἀγριόομαι	–	–	+	–					ἠγρίωσαι	4
ἀνάγομαι	M	–	+	+			ἀνῆκται	1		
παράγω	A	AP	+	+					παρῆκται	1
ἀγωνίζομαι	M	M	+	+			ἠγωνίσμεθα	1		
							ἠγωνισμένων	1		
ἀδικέω	AP	AP	+	+	ἠδίκηκα	3			ἠδίκησαι	1
					ἠδικηκότα	1			ἠδικημένος	10
ἀθροίζω	AM	A	+	+					ἠθροισμένος	2
συναθροίζομαι	–	–	+	+			συνήθροισται	1		

[1] διέφθορεν El. 306 is transitive.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
καταιθαλόω	A	–	+	+			κατηθαλωμένην 1
αἰκίζω	M	–	+	+			ᾐκισμένην 1
αἱματόω	AMP	–	+	+			ᾑματωμένη 1
αἱρέω	AMP	AMP	+	+	ᾑρηκέναι 1		ᾑρήμεθα 1 ᾑρημένος 2
ἀναιρέω	AM	AM	+	+			ἀνῄρησαι 1
διαιρέω	A	–	+	+	διῄρηκε 1		
ἐξαιρέω	AM	M	+	+			ἐξῃρημέναι 1
ἐπαίρω	AM	A	+	+			ἐπηρμένος 2
αἰσθάνομαι	M	M	+/–	+/–		ᾔσθημαι 2 ᾐσθημένος 3	
ἀπαιτέω	AM	–	+	+	ἀπῄτηκα 1		
ἀκριβόω	–	A	+	+	ἠκριβωκότες 1		
ἁλάομαι	M	–	–	+		ἀλήλητο 1	
ἀπαλλάσσομαι	M	M*	+	+		ἀπηλλάχθαι 4	
ἀλλοιόω	–	–	+	+			ἠλλοιωμένους 1
ἀλοχίζω	–	–	+	+			ἠλοχίσμεθα 1
ἁμαρτάνω	A	A	+	–	ἡμάρτηκα 3 ἡμαρτηκώς 2		ἡμαρτημένοις 1
ἐξαμέλγω	–	–	+	+			ἐξημελγμένον 1
ἁμιλλάομαι	M	P	+	+		ἡμιλλημένην 1	
ἀναγκάζω	A	AP	+	+			ἠναγκασμένος 1
καταναγκάζω	–	–	+	+			-ηναγκασμένος 2
ἀναλίσκω/όω	A	AP	+	+			ἀνήλωται 1
ἀνδρόομαι	–	–	+	–		ἠνδρωμένοι 1	
ἐξανδρόομαι	M	–	+	–		ἐξηνδρωμένος 1	
ἀνθρακόω	–	–	+	+			ἠνθρακωμένος 1
κατανθρακόω	–	P	+	+			κατηνθρακώμεθα 1
ἐξαντλέω	A	A	+	+	ἐξηντληκέναι 1 ἐξηντληκότες 1		
ἄνωγα	–	–	–	+	ἄνωγα 6		
ἀξιόω	AP	AP	–	+			ἠξιωμένος 2
ἀπατάω	AP	–	+	+			ἠπατήμεθα 1 ἠπατημένοι 1
ἀπορέω	A	–	–	–		ἠπόρημαι 1	
ἅπτω	AM	AM	+	+			ἧπται 1
ἀνάπτω	AM	AM	+	+			ἀνημμένος 3
ἐνάπτω	–	A	+	+			ἐνήμμεθα 1
ἀραρίσκω	–	–	–	–	ἄραρε 8 ἀραρώς 1		
ἀριθμέω	P	A	+	+			ἠριθμημένος 1
καταριθμέω	–	–	+	+			κατηρίθμηται 1

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἁρμόζω	AM	A	+	+			ἥρμοσται 1
							ἡρμοσμένα 1
καθαρμόζω	A	A	+	+			καθήρμοστο 1
μεθαρμόζω	–	–	+	+			μεθηρμόσμεθα 1
ἁρπάζω	AM	AP	+	+			ἥρπαστο 1
ἀναρπάζω	–	AP	+	+			ἀνήρπασται 1
ἀρτάω	M	A	+	+			ἠρτημένος 3
ἐξαρτάομαι	M	M	–	–		ἐξηρτήμεθα 1	
						ἐξηρτημένοι 1	
ἐξαρτύω	AP	–	+	+			ἐξηρτυμένας 1
ἐνάρχομαι	M	–	+	+		ἐνῆρκται 1	
κατάρχω	AM	AM	+	+			κατῆρκτο 1
ἀσκέω	A	A	+	+	ἠσκηκώς 2		ἤσκησαι 1
							ἠσκημένοι 1
ἐξασκέω	A	A	+	+			ἐξησκημέναι 1
ἀτιμάζω	A	A	+	+			ἠτιμασμένος 4
ἀτιμόω	–	–	+	+			ἠτιμώμεθα 1
αὔξομαι	M	–	+	–		ηὐξημένη 1	
βαίνω	A	A*	+	+	βέβηκα 39		
					βεβώς 11		
					βεβηκώς 4		
ἐκβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐκβέβηκα 3		
ἐμβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐμβεβάναι 1		
					ἐμβεβώς 4		
ἐπεμβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐπεμβεβῶτας 1		
ἐπιβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐπιβεβώς 1		
ξυμβαίνω	A	A*	+/–	+/–	ξυμβέβηκα 2		
βακχεύω	A	A	–	–			βεβάκχευται 1
βάλλω	AM	A	+	+			βεβλημένον 1
ἐκβάλλω	AP	AP	+	+	ἐκβέβληκεν[1] 1		ἐκβεβλημένος 5
συμβάλλω	AM	A	+	+	συμβεβλήκαμεν[1] 1		
ὑπερβάλλω	A	AM	–	–			ὑπερβεβλημένην 1
βαρβαρόω	–	–	+	+			βεβαρβάρωσαι 1
βλαστάνω	A	A	+	–	ἐβλαστήκασι 1		
βλώσκω	A	A	+	+	μεμβλωκότων 1		
βουλεύομαι[2]	M	M	+	+		βεβούλευμαι 3	
βρίθω	AP	–	–	–	βέβριθα 1		
γέγωνα	–	–	–	+	γέγωνε 1		
γεύομαι	M	AM	–	+/–		γεγευμένος 1	
γηθέω	–	–	–	–	γέγηθα 10		
συγγηθέω	–	–	–	–	ξυγγέγηθε 1		
γηράσκω	A	–	+	–	γεγήρακε 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	γέγονα 4	γεγένημαι 2	
					γεγώς 71		
ἐκγίγνομαι	–	–	+	–	ἐκγεγώς 1		

[1] ἐκβέβληκεν Tro. 1127 and συμβεβλήκαμεν El. 906 are transitive.
[2] βεβούληται IA 1395 (Headlam for δ' ἐβουλήθη) is not included.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
γιγνώσκω	AP	A*P	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 4		ἐγνωσμένος 3
					ἐγνωκότα 1		
γράφω	AP	A	+	+			γεγραμμένος 2
ἐγγράφω	–	A	+	+			ἐγγεγραμμένα 5
δάκνω	A	AP	+	+			δεδηγμένοι 1
δατέομαι	–	M	+	+			δέδασται 1
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 24		
					δεδοικώς 3		
δέρκομαι	M	A	–	–	δέδορκα 19		
					δεδορκώς 8		
εἰσδέρκομαι	M	–	–	–	ἐσδέδορκα 2		
προσδέρκομαι	M	–	–	–	προσδεδορκώς 1		
δέχομαι	M	M	+	+		δέδεγμαι 1	
						δεδεγμένος 2	
δέω	A	AP	+	+			δέδεμαι 2
δηλέομαι	–	–	+	+		δεδήληται 1	
δημεύω	–	–	+	+			δεδήμευται 1
δίδωμι	A	A	+	+	δέδωκα 5		δέδονται 1
προδίδωμι	A	A	+	+			προδέδομαι 5
δοκέω	A	AP	–	–		δεδόκησαι 1	δέδοκται 3
						δέδοκται 2	δεδογμένος 2
καταδουλόομαι	–	–	+	+		καταδεδούλωται 1	
δράσσομαι	–	–	+	+		δέδραξαι 1	
δράω	AP	A	+	+	δέδρακα 8		δεδραμένος 10
ἐθίζομαι	–	M*	+	+		εἴθισμαι 2	
ἐξεικάζω	–	–	+	+			ἐξῃκασμένα 1
ἀπείργω	A	–	+	+			ἀπειργμένοι 1
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἴωθας 3		
					εἰωθώς 2		
ἐξελαύνω	AP	–	+	+			ἐξελήλαμαι 1
ἐλευθερόω	A	AP	+	+			ἠλευθέρωσαι 1
ἑλίσσω	AMP	AP	+	+			εἵλικτο 1
ἕλκω	AP	A	+	+			εἵλκυσται 1
ἕννυμαι	–	–	+	+		εἱμένην 1	
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα 44		
					εἴξασιν 2		
προσέοικα	–	–	–	–	προσεικέναι 1	προσῄξαι 1	
ἐργάζομαι	–	M	+	+		εἴργασμαι 11	εἰργασμένων 1
						εἰργασμένος 5	
ἐξεργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		ἐξειργασμένος 7	ἐξειργάσμεθα 1
							ἐξειργασμένος 2
κατεργάζομαι	M	M	+	+			κατείργασται 3
							κατειργασμένα 1
συγκατ-ομαι	–	M	+	+		συγκατείργασται 1	
ὑπεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ὑπείργασμαι 2
ἐρεθίζω	A	–	+	+			ἠρεθισμένον 1
ἐρημόω	–	AP	+	+			ἠρημωμένας 1
ἑρμηνεύω	–	A	+	+			ἡρμηνευμένοι 1

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἔρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐλήλυθα 11		
εἰσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	εἰσελήλυθε 2		
ἐσθέω	–	–	+	+			ἠσθημένοι 1
ἑτοιμάζω	A	–	+	+			ἡτοιμασμένα 1
κατευνάζομαι	–	–	+	+		κατηύνασται 1	
εὑρίσκω	AP	AMP	+	+/–	ηὕρηκα 6	ηὑρήμεθα 1	ηὕρηται 1
							ηὑρημένα 1
ἐξευρίσκω	A	AP	+	+/–	ἐξηύρηκε 1		
εὐτρεπίζω	A	–	+	+			εὐτρεπισμέναι 1
παρευτρεπίζω	A	–	+	+			παρευτρέπισται 1
ζεύγνυμι	AM	AP	+	+			ἐζεῦχθαι 1
							ἐζευγμέναι 1
συζεύγνυμι	–	AP	+	+			συνέζευξαι 1
ἡγέομαι	M	M	–	–		ἥγησαι 1	
ἡσσάομαι	M	M*	+/–	–		ἡσσημένος 1	
θήγω	A	A	+	+			τεθηγμένος 2
συνθήγω	–	–	+	+			συντεθηγμένος 1
θνήσκω	A	A	+	–	τέθνηκα 45		
					τεθνηκώς 15		
					τεθνεώτων 1		
θοινάομαι	M	–	+	+		τεθοίναται 1	
συνθρανόω	–	–	+	+			συντεθράνωται 1
ἱδρύω	MP	AM	+	+			ἵδρυμαι 3
							ἱδρυμένος 2
καθιδρύω	–	M	+	+			καθίδρυται 1
ἀνίημι	A	AM	+	+			ἀνεῖται 1
							ἀνειμένος 4
ἀφίημι	A	AP	+	+			ἀφεῖμαι 2
							ἀφειμένος 2
παρίημι	AM	AM	+	+	παρεῖκεν 1		παρεῖμαι 3
							παρειμένος 6
ὑφίεμαι	–	M	+	+		ὑφειμένος 2	
ἀφικνέομαι	–	M	+	–		ἀφῖγμαι 20	
						ἀφιγμένος 18	
εἰσαφικνέομαι	–	M	+	–		εἰσαφιγμένους 1	

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα	28				
					ἑστηκώς	1				
					ἑστώς	6				
ἀνίστ/αμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀνέστηκεν	1				
ἀφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀφεστώς	1				
ἐνίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ἐνεστώς	1				
ἐξίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἐξέστηκε	1				
ἐφίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	ἐφέστηκα	10				
					ἐφεστώς	3				
καθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+/–	καθέστηκα	14				
					καθεστώτων	1				
μεθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	μεθέστηκα	6				
παρίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	παρέστηκα	4				
					παρεστώς	10				
συνίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ξυνεστῶτος	2				
ὑφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ὑφειστήκει	1				
χαίνυμαι	–	–	–	–			κέχασται	1		
καίω	A	–	+	+					κεκαυμένον	1
ἐγκαίω	–	–	+	+					ἐγκεκαυμένους	1
καλέω	AMP	AP	+/–	+					κέκλημαι	10
									κεκλημένος	11
κάμνω	A	A	–	–	κεκμηκότων	2				
καρτερέω	A	–	–	+					κεκαρτέρηται	1
κείρω	–	AM	+	+					κέκαρσαι	1
									κεκαρμένος	3
κεράννυμι	–	P	+	+					κέκραται	2
κερτομέω	A	A	+	+					κεκερτομημένη	1
κεύθω	A	–	–	+/–	κέκευθα[1]	5				
κινέω	AM	AP	+	+					κεκίνηται	2
κληρόω	AM	AP	+	+					κεκλήρωσθε	1
κλῄω	A	A	+	+					κεκλῄμεθα	1
									κεκλῃμένα	1
ἐκκλῄω	P	–	+	+					ἐκκεκλῄμεθα	1
συγκλῄω	–	A	+	+					συγκεκλῃμένος	2
ἐπικλίνομαι	–	–	–	–			ἐπικεκλιμένας	1		
κομψεύω	–	–	+	+			κεκόμψευσαι	1		
συγκόπτω	–	–	+	+					συγκεκομμένος	1
κορύσσω/ομαι	A	–	+	+			κεκορυθμένος	1	κεκορυθμένον	1
κοσμέω	AMP	AP	+	+					κεκόσμηνται	1
κραίνω	AP	AP	+	+					κέκρανται	3
κρασπεδόω	–	–	+	+					κεκρασπέδωται	1
κρίνω	AP	AP	+	+					κέκριται	1
κατακρίνω	–	–	+	+					κατακεκριμένον	1
κρύπτω	AMP	AMP	+	+					κέκρυπται	2
									κεκρυμμένος	8

[1] κέκευθα is transitive in all instances.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
κτάομαι	M	M	+	+		κέκτημαι 17	
						κεκτημένος 22	
ἀνακύπτω	–	–	+	+	ἀνακεκύφαμεν 1		
κυρόω	–	–	+	+			κεκυρῶσθαι 1
ἐκκωφέω	–	–	+	+			ἐκκεκώφηται 1
λαγχάνω	–	A	+	–	λέλογχα 2		εἰληγμένας 1
					εἴληχα 4		
λαμβάνω	AM	AMP	+	+	εἴληφα 2		λέλημμαι 2
							λελημμένος 3
καταλαμβάνω	–	P	+	+	κατείληφε 1		
λάμπω	AM	A	–	–	λέλαμπεν 2		
λανθάνω	A	A	–	–	λέληθα 6		
λανθάνομαι	–	M	+	–		λέλησμαι 2	
ἐκλανθάνω	–	M	+	–		ἐκλέλησμαι 1	
ἐπιλανθάνομαι	M	M	+	–		ἐπιλέλησμαι 2	
λάσκω	A	A	–	+	λέλακα 3		
λέγω	AP	AP	+	+			λέλεγμαι 9
							λελεγμένος 7
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	AP	+	+	εἴρηκα 6		εἴρημαι 7
							εἰρημένοις 6
ἀπερῶ	–	A	+	+	ἀπείρηκεν 1		
					ἀπειρηκώς 2		
λείπω	AM	AMP	+	+	λέλοιπε[1] 2		λέλειμμαι 4
					λέλοιπε[1] 4		λελειμμένος 13
ἐκλείπω	AP	A	+	+	ἐκλέλοιπα[2] 6		
					ἐκλελοιπώς[2] 3		
ἐλλείπω	–	A	+	+	ἐλλέλοιπας[3] 1		
περιλείπω	–	–	+	+			περιλελειμμένους 1
ὑπολείποπω	P	–	+	+			ὑπολελειμμένα 1
λήζομαι	–	M	+	+			λελῄσμεθα 1
							λελησμένος 2
λογίζομαι	M	M	+	+		λελογισμένοι 1	λελογισμένον 1
λυπέω	AMP	P	+	+			λελυπήμεθα 1
λύω	AM	AP	+	+			λέλυμαι 2
							λελυμέναι 1
μαίνομαι	M	AM	–	–	μέμηνα 2		
					μεμηνώς 4		
μαντεύομαι	M	–	+	+			μεμαντεῦσθαι 1
μείγνυμαι	M	M*	+	+/–		μεμειγμένος 2	
ἀναμείγνυμαι	M	–	+	+/–		ἀναμεμειγμέναι 1	
συμμείγνυμαι	M	–	+	+/–		συμμεμειγμένος 1	
μέμονα	–	–	–	–	μέμονε 2		

[1] λέλοιπε is transitive in IT 562, Hel. 107–8, 227, Or. 390, intransitive in HF 124–5, 133.
[2] ἐκλέλοιπα is intransitive in HF 230, transitive elsewhere.
[3] ἐλλέλοιπας El. 609 is transitive.

Euripides	**PS**	**AS**	**Ch**	**Co**	**Active**	**Middle**	**Passive**
μιμνήσκομαι	–	M[1]	–	–		μέμνημαι 16	
						μεμνημένος 3	
προμοχθέω	–	–	+	+	προμεμοχθήκασι 1		
μυθεύω	AP	A	+	+			μεμύθευται 1
νεύω	A	A	+	+	νενευκώς 1		
νικάω	AP	AP	+/–	–	νενικηκώς 1		
νομίζω	AP	AP	–	+			νενόμισται 2
νοστέω	A	A	+	+	νενόστηκε 1		
καταξαίνω	–	AP	+	+			κατέξασμαι 2
ξενόω	M	P	+	+			ἐξενωμένον 1
ἀποξενόω	–	–	+	+			ἀπεξενωμένοις 1
ὀγκόω	AP	AP	+	+			ὠγκωμένος 1
ἐξογκόω	AP	–	+	+			ἐξωγκωμένος 2
ἀνοίγνυμι	AP	AP	+	+			ἀνεῳγμένας 1
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 345		
					εἰδώς 23		
δίοιδα	–	–	–	–	διειδέναι 1		
ἔξοιδα	–	–	–	–	ἐξειδέναι 1		
					ἐξειδώς 1		
κάτοιδα	–	–	–	–	κάτοιδα 6		
					κατειδώς 2		
σύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	ξύνοιδα 10		
					ξυνειδώς 2		
ἐξοιδέω	–	–	+	–	ἐξῳδηκότα 1		
κατοικέω	A	A	–	+	κατῳκήκασιν 1		
οἰκίζω	A	A	+	+		ᾤκισται 3	
οἰμώζω	–	A	–	+			ᾠμωγμένον 1
οἰνόω	–	–	+	+			ᾠνωμένας 1
ἐξοινόω	–	–	+	+			ἐξῳνωμένας 1
ὀλβίζω	A	AP	+	+			ὠλβισμένοι 1
ὄλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ὄλωλα 43		
					ὀλωλώς 9		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπόλωλα 5		
διόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	διόλωλα 4		
ἐξόλλυμαι	–	M	+	–	ἐξολώλαμεν 1		
ὄμνυμι	A	A	+	+	ὀμώμοχε 1		ὀμώμοται 1
ὀνομάζω	AP	AP	+	+			ὠνόμασται 1
							ὠνομασμένος 1
ἐπονομάζω	–	P	+	+			ἐπωνομασμένα 1
ὁπλίζω	AM	A	+	+			ὥπλισται 1
							ὡπλισμένος 6
ἀντοπλίζω	–	–	+	+			ἀντωπλισμένοι 1
ὀργίζομαι	M	M*	–	–		ὠργισμένος 1	
κατορθόω	A	A	+	+			κατώρθωνται 1
ὁρίζω	AMP	AM	+	+			ὡρισμένος 2

[1] AS M = ἐμνήσθην and ἐμνησάμην.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ὁρμάομαι	M	M*	+/–	+/–		ὡρμημένος 1	
ἀφορμάομαι	M	M*	+	+/–		ἀφώρμηται 1	
ἐξορμάομαι	M	–	+	+/–		ἐξωρμημένου 1	
ὁρμίζομαι	–	–	+	+		ὥρμισται 1	
						ὡρμισμένος 3	
ἐξορμίζω	A	–	+	+		ἐξώρμισαι 1	
συνοφρυόομαι	–	–	+	+		συνωφρυωμένος 2	
πάομαι	–	M	?	?		πέπαμαι 4	
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πέπονθα 29		
					πεπονθώς 4		
παύομαι	M	M	+	+		πεπαυμένος 3	
πείθω	A	AP	+	+			πέπεισμαι 1
							πεπεισμένη 1
πείθομαι	M	M	+	+/–	πέποιθα 19		
					πεποιθώς 3		
πήγνυμαι	–	M*	+	–	πέπηγε 1		
πίνω	A	A	+	+	πεπωκώς 2		
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πέπτωκα 13		
					πεπτωκώς 5		
ἐμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐμπέπτωκα 4		
συμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	συμπέπτωκας 1		
πλάσσω	–	AP	+	+			πεπλασμένον 1
πλέκω	A	A	+	+			πεπλεγμένη 1
συμπλέκω	A	–	+	+		συμπεπλέγμεθα 1	-πεπλεγμένους 1
πλέω	A	A	+	+	πέπλευκα 3		
					πεπλευκότας 1		
					πεπλωκότα 1		
πλήσσω	–	AP	+	+			πέπληγμαι 5
							πεπληγμένος 4
ἐκπλήσσω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐκπεπληγμένος 5
παραπλήσσω	–	–	+	+			-πεπληγμένῳ 1
ἐκπνέω	A	A	+	+	ἐκπεπνευκότας 1		
ποικίλλω	A	–	+	+			πεποίκιλται 1
πορεῖν	–	–	+	+			πέπρωται 2
							πεπρωμένος 13
διαπορθέω	–	–	+	+			διαπεπόρθηται 1
ἐκπορθμεύω	–	–	+	+			ἐκπεπόρθμευται 1
ποτάομαι	M	–	–	+		πεπόταται 1	
ἐκποτάομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐκπεπόταμαι 1	
πράσσω	AMP	AP	+/–	+/–	πέπραγα 2		πέπραγμαι 8
					πεπραγώς 8		πεπραγμένος 7
διαπράσσω	–	–	+	+			διαπεπράγμεθα 1
							διαπεπραγμένος 2
πτερόω	–	–	+	+			ἐπτερωμένον 1
ἀναπτερόω	A	–	+	+	ἀνεπτέρωκα 2		
πτοέω	–	P	+	+			ἐπτόηται 1
							ἐπτοημένος 4
ἀναπτύσσω	A	A	+	+			ἀνεπτύχθαι 1

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–		πέπυσμαι 5	
						πεπυσμένος 7	
πυργόω	A	A	+	+			πεπύργωμαι 3
ῥάπτω	–	AP	+	+			ἐρράφθαι 1
ῥήγνυμαι	–	M*	+	+	ἔρρωγεν 1		
καταρρήγνυμαι	–	–	+	+	κατερρώγασιν 1		
ῥίπτω	AP	AP	+	+			ἔρριπται 1
ῥώννυμαι	–	–	–	–		ἐρρώμεθα 1	
						ἐρρωμένους 1	
σήπομαι	M	–	+	–	σέσηπεν 1		
σιγάω	AP	AP	–	+		σεσίγηται 1	
σκευάζομαι	M	–	+	+		ἐσκευάσμεθα 1	
ἀνασκευάζομαι	–	–	+	+		ἀνεσκευάσμεθα 1	
παρασκευάζω	A	–	+	+		-εσκευάσμεθα 1	
						-εσκευασμένος 3	
σκέπτομαι	–	M	+	+		ἐσκεμμένοι 1	
σκυθίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐσκυθισμένον 1
ἀποσκυθίζω	–	–	+	+			ἀπεσκυθισμένην 1
σπανίζω	AM	–	+	+			ἐσπανίσμεθα 1
σπείρω	A	AP	+	+			ἔσπαρται 1
σπένδω	AMP	A	+	+		ἐσπεῖσθαι 1	
ἐπιστέλλω	A	–	+	+	ἐπέσταλκε 1		ἐπεσταλμένα 1
συστέλλομαι	M	M*	+	+		συνέσταλμαι 1	
στερέω	P	AP	+	+			ἐστερημένος 3
ἀποστερέω	AP	P	+	+			ἀπεστερημένος 3
ἀναστέφω	–	A	+	+			ἀνέστεμμαι 1
ἐκστέφω	–	A	+	+			ἐξεστεμμένα 1
στολίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐστολισμένος 2
στομόω	–	–	+	+			ἐστομωμένη 1
στόρνυμι	–	A	+	+			ἔστρωται 2
ἐπιστρατεύομαι	M	A	+	+		-εστρατευμένου 1	
ἀναστρέφω	AM	–	+	+		ἀνέστραπται 1	
σφάλλομαι	M	M*	+	–		ἐσφάλμεθα 1	
						ἐσφαλμένοι 2	
σφραγίζω	AM	–	+	+			ἐσφραγισμένοι 2
σῴζω	AMP	AP	+/–	+	σέσωκε 1		σέσωσμαι 6
							σεσωσμένος 8
σωφρονέω	A	A	–	–	σεσωφρόνηκας 1		
ταρβέω	A	A	–	–	τεταρβηκώς 1		
τάσσω	AP	AMP	+	+			τέταγμαι 6
							τεταγμένος 4
προστάσσω	A	AP	+	+			προστετάχθαι 1
ταυρόομαι	M	–	+	–		τεταύρωσαι 1	
τείνω	AM	AM[1]	+	+		τέταται 1	
						τεταμένος 2	
τελέω	AP	AP	+	+			τετέλεσται 1

[1] AS M = ἐτάθην.

Euripides	**PS**	**AS**	**Ch**	**Co**	**Active**	**Middle**	**Passive**
ἐντέλλω	–	–	+	+			ἐντεταλμένα 1
τεύχω	A	A	+	+			τετύχθαι 1
τήκομαι	M	M*	+	–	τετηκώς 2		
ἐκτήκομαι	M	–	+	–	ἐκτέτηκα 1		
συντήκομαι	M	M*	+	–	συντέτηκε 1		
					συντετηκός 1		
τιτρώσκω	–	AP	+	+			τέτρωμαι 2
							τετρωμένος 2
τολμάω	A	AP	+/–	+	τετόλμηκε 1		
τρέπομαι	M	M	+	+/–		τέτραπται 1	
τρέφω	AP	AMP	+	+			τεθράμμεθα 2
							τεθραμμένος 5
ἐκτρέφω	A	AMP	+	+			ἐκτεθραμμένος 2
συντρέφω	–	P	+	+			συντέθραψαι 1
ὑβρίζω	AP	AP	+	+			ὑβρίσμεθα 1
							ὑβρισμένα 1
φαίνω	A	–	+	+			πέφανται 1
φαίνομαι	M	M*	+	–	πέφηνα 5		
					πεφηνώς 2		
εἰσφέρω	A	AM	+	+			εἰσενήνεκται 1
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	πέφευγα 7		
					πεφευγώς 3		
διαφεύγω	A	A	+	+	διαπέφευγε 1		
ἐκφεύγω	A	A	+	+	ἐκπέφευγα 3		
φθείρω	AM	–	+	+			ἐφθαρμένος 4
διαφθείρω	A	AP	+	+	διέφθαρκε 1		διέφθαρμαι 3
					διέφθορα[1] 3		
ἐκφθείρω	–	–	+	+			ἐξεφθαρμένη 1
φράσσω	–	–	+	+			πέφρακται 1
							πεφραγμένος 5
ἐπεισφρέω	A	AP	+	+	ἐπεισέφρηκε 1		
φρίσσω	A	A	–	–	πεφρικώς 2		
φροντίζω	A	A	–	+	πεφροντικός 1		
φύρω	A	–	+	+			πεφυρμένος 4
ἀναφύρω	–	–	+	+			ἀναπεφυρμένα 1
συμφύρω	–	–	+	+			συμπεφυρμένον 1
φύομαι	–	M*	+	–	πέφυκα 74		
					πεφυκώς 15		
ἐκφύομαι	–	M*	+	–	ἐκπέφυκα 6		
					ἐκπεφυκότι 1		
ἐμφύομαι	–	M*	+	–	ἐμπέφυκε 5		
προσφύομαι	–	–	+	+	προσπεφυκέναι 1		
χαίρω	A	–	–	–		κεχαρμένος 3	
						κεχαρημένην 2	
χαρίζομαι	M	M	+	+		κεχαρισμένα 1	
χέω	AP	MP	+	+		κεχύμεθα 1	κεχυμένος 2

[1] διέφθορα is transitive.

Euripides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
χρήομαι	M	M	–	+/–		κεχρημένος[1] 3	
χρήομαι	–	–	–	–		κέχρημαι 2 κεχρημένος 5	
χρώζω	A	–	+	+			κεχρώσμεθα 1
χρώννυμι	–	–	+	+			κέχρωσαι 1
ψηφίζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐψηφισμένους 1

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
εἰσαγγέλλω	P	–	+	+			εἰσηγγελμέναις 1
ἀγκυλόομαι	–	–	+	+		ἠγκυλωμένος 1	
κατάγνυμαι	M	M	+	–	κατέαγε 2 κατεαγότος 1		
ἀγριόομαι	–	–	+	–		ἠγρίωται 1 ἠγριωμένους 1	
ἀγωνίζομαι	M	M	+	+		ἠγωνίσμεθα 1	
ἀδικέω	AP	AP	+	+	ἠδίκηκα 4 ἠδικηκόσιν 1		ἠδικημένος 2
αἱματόω	P	–	+	+			ᾑματωμένω 1
αἰνίττομαι	M	M	+	+		ᾐνιγμένος 1	
αἱρέω	AM	AMP	+	+			ᾑρήμεσθα 1 ᾑρημένην 1
ἐπαίρω/ομαι	AP	AP	+	+		ἐπῆρται 1	ἐπηρμένου 1
αἰσθάνομαι	M	M	+/–	+/–		ᾔσθηνται 1	
παρακονάομαι	–	–	+	+		παρηκόνηνται 1	
ὑπερακοντίζω	A	A	+	+	ὑπερηκόντικεν 1		
ἀκούω	A	A	+/–	+/–	ἀκήκοα 8		
ἀκριβόω	–	A	+	+			ἠκριβωμένην 1
ἐξαλίνδω	–	A	+	+	ἐξήλικας 1		
ἀπαλλάττομαι	M	M*	+	–		ἀπηλλαγμένος 1	
ἁμαρτάνω	A	A	+	–	ἡμάρτηκα 2		
ἐξαμβλόω	–	–	+	+	ἐξήμβλωκας 1		τοὐξημβλωμένον 1
ἐξανθίζομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐξηνθισμέναι 1	
ἀπαντάω	A	A	+	+	ἀπήντηκε 1		
ἐναντιόομαι	–	–	–	+		ἐνηντιώμεθα 1	
ἐξαπατάω	AP	AP	+	+	ἐξηπάτηκα 3		ἐξηπάτηται 1
ἅπτω	AM	AM	+	+			ἡμμένος 4
ἐνάπτω	–	M	+	+		ἐνημμένος 6	ἐνημμένη 1
ἀριστάω	A	A	+	+	ἠρίσταμεν 1		ἠρίστηται 1
περιαρμόττω	–	–	+	+		περιηρμοσμέναι 1	
ἁρπάζω	A	A	+	+	ἥρπακας 1 ἡρπακώς 1		

[1] κεχρημένος is used with a dative complement in Hipp. 349, Med. 347, IA 89.

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -αν/-ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀρτάω	–	–	+	+			ἠρτημένην 1
ἐξαρτάω	–	–	+	+		ἐξηρτημένας 1	
ὑπάρχω	A	–	–	–		ὑπηργμένων 1	
παρεξαυλέω	–	–	+	+			-ηυλημένους 1
βαίνω	A	A*	+	+	βέβηκεν 1		
					βεβηκώς 1		
ἀντιβαίνω	–	A*	+	+	ἀντιβεβηκώς 1		
διαβαίνω	–	A*	+	+	διαβεβήκασι 1		
					διαβεβηκότος 1		
ἐκβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἐκβέβηκεν 1		
βαλανόω	–	–	+	+	βεβαλάνωκε 2		βεβαλάνωται 1
							βεβαλανωμένον 1
βάλλω	AP	AP	+	+	βέβληκε 2		
ἀναβάλλομαι	M	M	+	+		ἀναβεβλήμεθα 1	
ἀποβάλλω	–	AM	+	+	ἀποβεβληκότι 1		
διαβάλλω	AMP	A	+	+	διαβέβληκε 2		διαβεβλημένου 1
καταβάλλω	A	A	+	+	καταβέβληκεν 1		
παραβάλλω	AM	AM	+	+			παραβεβλημένος 1
βάπτω	AP	A	+	+		βέβαπται 1	
βασανίζω	A	A	+	+			βεβασανισμένα 1
βιβρώσκω	–	–	+	+	βεβρωκότες 1		
βινέω	AMP	A	+	+	βεβίνηκας 1		
καταβινέω	–	–	+	+			καταβεβίνησο 1
βουλεύω	AM	AM	+	+			βεβούλευται 1
							βεβουλευμένα 1
ἐπιβουλεύω	AP	A	–	+	ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι 1		
προβουλεύω	A	–	+	+			προβεβούλευται 1
βράττω	A	–	+	+			βεβρασμένην 1
ἀναβράττω	A	–	+	+			ἀναβεβρασμένην 1
βύω	–	–	+	+			βεβυσμένος 3
ξυμβύω	–	–	+	+		ξυμβεβυσμένοι? 1	
γαμέω	A	AM	+	+	γεγάμηκεν 1		
γηθέω	–	–	–	–	γέγηθα 2		
					γεγηθώς 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	γέγονα 9	γεγένημαι 24	
					γεγῶσα 1	γεγενημένος 1	
					γεγονυῖα 1		
συγγίγνομαι	M	M	+	–		συγγεγένημαι 1	
γιγνώσκω	AP	A*	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 4		
καταγλωττίζω	A	–	+	+		-εγλωττισμένον? 1	-εγλωττισμένην 1
γράφω	AMP	AM	+	+			γεγράφθαι 1
							γεγραμμένος 5
διαγράφω	A	–	+	+			διαγέγραπται 1
ἐγγράφω	A	P	+	+			ἐνεγέγραπτο 1
ὑπογράφω	–	–	+	+			ὑπογεγραμμένη 1
δάκνω	AP	AP	+	+			δέδηγμαι 1

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 34		
					δεδοικώς 1		
					δεδιώς 2		
ὑποδέδοικα	–	–	–	–	Ὑποδεδιώς[1] 1		
δειπνέω	A	–	+	+	δεδείπνηκας 1		
					δεδειπνάναι 2		
δέρω	AP	–	+	+			δεδαρμένην 1
δέχομαι	M	M	+	+		δεδεγμένος 1	
δέω	A	A	+	+			δεδεμένος 3
ἀποδιδράσκω	A	A*	+	+	ἀποδεδρακότι 1		
διαδιδράσκω	A	–	+	+	διαδεδρακότας 1		
δίδωμι	AP	A	+	+	δέδωκεν 1		
ἐνδίδωμι	–	–	+	+	ἐνδέδωκας 1		
παραδίδωμι	A	A	+	+	παραδέδωκας 1		παραδεδόσθαι 1
προδίδωμι	A	A	+	+			προδεδόμεθα 1
δοκέω	A	A	–	–		δεδόκησαι 1	
						δέδοκται 2	
						δεδογμένος 3	
δράω	A	A	+	+	δέδρακα 16		δέδραται 1
					δεδρακώς 2		δεδραμένα 1
καταδύομαι	–	–	+	+	καταδεδυκώς 1		
ὑποδύομαι	M	A*	+	+	ὑποδέδυκεν 1		
					ὑποδεδυκότα 1		
ἐγείρομαι	M	M	+	–	ἐγρήγορα 3		
ἐξεγείρομαι	–	M	+	–	ἐξεγρήγορεν 1		
ἐθίζομαι	M	M*	+	+		εἴθισμαι 2	
εἰκάζω	A	A	+	+		ᾐκάσμεθα 1	
ἐξεικάζω	–	–	+	+			ἐξῃκασμένος 1
εἴργω	A	A	+	+			εἰργμένους 1
περιείργω	–	–	+	+		περιειργμένος 1	
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἴωθα 4		
					εἰωθώς 2		
ἐξελαύνω	A	A	+	+	ἐξελήλακε[2] 1		
					ἐξεληλακώς[2] 2		
ἐμπολάω	A	A	+	+	ἠμπόληκα 1		
ἀμφιέννυμαι	–	M	+	+		ἠμφιεσμένος 5	
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα 40		
					εἴξασιν 4		
προσέοικα	–	–	–	–	εἰκώς 2		
					προσεικέναι 1		
ἐργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		εἴργασμαι 3	εἴργασται 1
						εἰργασμένος 3	εἰργασμένος 2
ἐξεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐξειργασμένος 1	
ἐρεθίζω	AP	–	+	+			ἠρεθισμένον 1
εἰσέρρω	–	A	+	–	εἰσήρρηκας 1		

[1] Ὑποδεδιώς is used as a personal name.

[2] ἐξελήλακε Nub. 1472, ἐξεληλακώς Nub. 828, 1471 are transitive.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἔρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐλήλυθα 11		
διέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	διεληλυθώς 1		
εἰσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	εἰσελήλυθεν 4		
ἐξέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐξελήλυθα 4		
ἐπέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐπελήλυθεν 1		
περιέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	περιελήλυθα 1		
συνέρχομαι	–	A	+	+	συνεληλυθότες 1		
ἐσθίω	A	A[1]	+	+	ἐδηδοκώς 1		
ἀπεσθίω	–	A[1]	+	+	ἀπεδήδοκεν 1		
ἐξεσθίω	–	A[1]	+	+	ἐξεδήδοκεν 1		
κατεσθίω	A	A[1]	+	+	κατεδήδοκεν 1		
					κατεδηδοκώς 1		
ἑταιρέω	–	–	–	+	ἠταιρηκότος 1		
εὐδοκιμέω	–	–	–	–	εὐδοκίμηκεν 1		
εὑρίσκω	A	AMP	+	+/–	ηὕρηκα 2		ηὑρημένα 1
ἀνευρίσκω	–	A	+	+/–	ἀνηύρηκεν 1		
ἐξευρίσκω	A	AP	+	+/–	ἐξηύρηκεν 1		ἐξηύρητο 1
							ἐξηυρημένην 1
προσεξευρίσκω	–	–	+	+/–	προσεξηύρηκε 1		
εὐτρεπίζω	–	–	+	+			εὐτρεπισμένα 1
εὐωχέομαι	M	M*	+	+		εὐωχημένος 2	
ζητέω	AP	A	+	+			ἐξητημένον 1
ἀναζητέω	–	–	+	+			ἀνεζητημένον 1
διαζητέω	–	–	+	+	διεζήτηκα 1		διεζητημένους 1
ζωμεύω	–	–	+	+			ἐζωμευμένα 1
περιζώννυμαι	–	M	+	+		περιεζωσμέναι 1	
ἡττάομαι	P	P	+/–	–			ἡττήμεθα 1
							ἡττημένος 1
θεάομαι	M	M	–	+		τεθέασαι 1	
θερμόομαι	–	–	+	–		τεθερμῶσθαι 1	
θεωρέω	A	–	–	+	τεθεώρηκα 1		
θνήσκω	–	+	+	–	τέθνηκα 7		
					τεθνεώς 6		
					τεθνηκώς 6		
συνθνήσκω	–	–	+	–	συντέθνηκε 2		
θορυβέω	A	A	+	+	τεθορύβηκεν 1		
ἀποθριάζω	–	–	+	+	ἀποτεθρίακεν 1		
ἐνθριόω	–	–	+	+			ἐντεθριῶσθαι 1
ἐνθυμέομαι	M	M*	+	+/–			ἐντεθύμηται 1
θυμιάω	–	–	+	+			τεθυμιαμένος 1
θύω	AP	A	+	+	τέθυκα 1		τεθύσθαι 1
ἱδρύομαι	–	M	+	+			ἱδρυμένος 1
ἵημι	AM	A	+	+			εἷνται 1
ἀνίημι	A	A	+	+			ἀνεῖται 1
καθίημι	A	A	+	+			καθειμένον 1
μεθίημι	AM	AM	+	+			μεθεῖται 2

[1] AS A are forms of ἔφαγον and compounds.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–			ἀφῖγμαι	8		
							ἀφιγμένος	5		
ἐξιπόω	–	–	+	+	ἐξιπώκατον	1				
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα	20				
					ἑστώς	6				
					ἑστηκώς	2				
ἀνίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀνέστηκα	2				
					ἀνεστηκυῖα	1				
ἀφίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	ἀφεστήκασι	1				
ἐνίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ἐνεστώσης	1				
ἐπανίσταμαι	M	–	+	+	ἐπανεστήκῃ	1				
ἐφίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	ἐφέστηκα	3				
					ἐφεστώς	2				
καθίσταμαι	M	AM*	+	+	καθεστήκασι	1				
					καθεστώτων	1				
					καθεστηκός	1				
μεθίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	μεθέστηκε	1				
παρίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	παρέστηκα	1				
					παρεστώς	4				
					παρεστηκώς	1				
περιίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	περιεστώτων	1				
προΐσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	προέστηκεν	1				
προσίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	προσέστηκα	2				
καίνυμαι	–	–	–	–			κεκασμένον	1		
διακαίω	–	–	+	+					διακεκαυμένον	1
περικαίω	–	–	+	+					περικεκαυμένον	1
καλέω	AMP	AMP	+/–	+	κέκληκεν	2			κεκλήμεθα	1
ἐγκαλέω	A	–	+	+	ἐγκεκληκώς	1				
παρακαλέω	AP	–	+	+					παρακεκλημένον	1
προσκαλέω	M	–	+	+					προσκεκλημένα	1
καλλωπίζομαι	–	–	+	+			κε-ωπισμένος	3		
ἐγκαλύπτομαι	–	M	+	+			ἐγκεκαλύφθαι	1		
							ἐγκεκαλυμμένος	2		
καπνίζω	–	–	+	+	κεκάπνικεν	1				
κατηγορέω	A	A	+	+	κατηγόρηκεν	2				
κείρω	–	–	+	+					κεκαρμένος	1
ἀποκείρω	–	M	+	+					ἀποκεκαρμένην	1
διακείρω	–	–	+	+					διακεκαρμένῳ	1
κεράννυμι	–	A	+	+					κεκραμένος	3
συγκεράννυμι	–	–	+	+					συγκέκραμαι	1
κερματίζω	–	–	+	+					κεκερματισμένον	1
κιβδηλεύω	–	–	+	+					κε-ευμένοις	1
παρακινδυνεύω	A	A	+/–	+/–					παρακεκινδ- ευμένον	1
κινέω	AMP	A	+	+					κεκίνημαι	3
κλάζω	–	–	–	+	κεκλάγγω	1				
κλέπτω	A	A	+	+	κέκλοφα	3			κεκλαμμένον	1
					κεκλοφώς	3				

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
κλείω	A	–	+	+			κεκλεισμένης 1
ἀποκλείω	A	A	+	+	ἀποκεκλῄκαμεν 1		ἀποκέκλεισμαι 1
κατακλείω	–	P	+	+			κατακεκλεισμένα 1
διακναίω	–	A	+	+			διακεκναισμένος 1
κατακνίζω	–	–	+	+			κατακέκνισμαι 1
ἐγκοισυρόομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐγκε-ωμένην 1	
κοκκύζω	–	A	+	+	κεκόκκυκεν 1		
εἰσκομίζομαι	–	–	+	+		εἰσκεκόμισμαι 1	
κονίω	–	M	+	+			κεκονιμένος 1
κόπτω	AMP	AP	+	+			κεκομμένα 1
παρακόπτω	M	P	+	+			παρακεκομμένα 1
συγκόπτω	–	–	+	+			συγκεκόφθαι 1
ἐγκορδυλέω	–	–	+	+			-κεκορδυλημένος 1
κορέννυμαι	–	M*	+	+		κεκορημένοι 1	
κράζω	A	–	–	+	κέκραγα 14		
					κεκραγώς 9		
διακράζω	–	–	–	+	διακεκραγέναι 1		
					διακεκραγότες 1		
κρατέω	AP	A	–	–	κεκράτηκεν 1		
κρίζω	–	–	–	+	κεκριγότες 1		
ἀποκρούω	–	–	+	+			ἀποκεκρουμένον 1
κρύπτω	A	AP	+	+			κεκρύφθαι 1
ἀποκρύπτω	AM	M	+	+			ἀποκεκρυμμένος 1
ἐγκρύπτω	A	–	+	+			ἐγκεκρυμμένοι 1
κτάομαι	M	M	+	+		κέκτημαι 5	
						κεκτημένος 5	
ἐγκυκλέω	–	–	+	+			ἐγκεκύκλησαι 1
ἐγκυκλόομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐγκεκύκλωται 1	
εἰσκυλίνδω	–	A	+	+	εἰσκεκύλικεν 1		
ἐγκύπτω	–	A	+	+	ἐγκεκυφώς 2		
συγκύπτω	–	A	+	+	συγκεκυφός 1		
ὑποκύπτω	A	–	+	+	ὑποκεκύφαμες 1		
κωδωνίζω	–	A	+	+			κεκωδωνισμένοις 1
ἐκκωφόω	–	–	+	+	ἐκκεκώφωκας 1		
προλαγχάνω	–	–	+	–	προείληχε 1		
λακτίζω	–	A	+	+	λελάκτικας 1		
λαμβάνω	AP	AMP	+	+	εἴληφα 6		εἰλημμένος 2
διαλαμβάνω	–	–	+	+			διειλημμένον 1
καταλαμωβάνω	A	A	+	+	κατειλήφασιν 1		
					κατειληφώς 1		
περιλαμβάνω	–	A	+	+			περιείλημμαι 1
λαμπρύνω	M	–	–	+			λελάμπρυνται 1
λανθάνω	A	A	–	–	λέληθα 11		
ἐπιλανθάνομαι	M	M	+	–		ἐπιλέλησμαι 2	
λάπτω	–	–	+	+	λέλαφας 1		
λάσκω	A	A	–	+	λέλακας 1		
ἀπολαύω	A	A	+	+	ἀπολέλαυκε 1		

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
λέγω	AP	A	–	+			λέλεκται 1
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	A	+	+	εἴρηκα 15		εἴρητο 2
					εἰρηκώς 2		εἰρημένος 5
προλέγω	–	–	+	+			προλελεγμένων 1
συλλέγομαι	M	M*	+	+		συνείλεκται 1	
						συλλελεγμένας 1	
ἐπιλείπω	A	A	+	–	ἐπιλέλοιπε[1] 1		
καταλείπω	A	AP	+	+	καταλέλοιπα 1		καταλέλειπται 1
							καταλελειμμένον 1
περιλείπω	–	–	+	+			περιλελειμμένος 1
παραλέγω	–	–	+	+		παραλέλεξαι 1	
λούω	AMP	AM	+	+		λελουμένος? 2	λέλουται 1
λύω	AMP	AMP	+	+			λέλυμαι 2
ἀπολύω	–	A	+	+	ἀπολέλυκεν 1		ἀπολελύσθαι 1
μακκοάω	A	–	–	–	μεμακκοατότα 1		
μανθάνω	A	A	+	+/–	μεμάθηκεν 3		
μάττω	AP	A	+	+	μεμαχότος 1		μεμαγμένος 4
διαμάττω	A	–	+	+			διαμεμαγμένας 1
μελετάω	A	–	+/–	+	μεμελέτηκα 2		
μιλτόω	–	–	+	+			μεμιλτωμένον 1
μιμέομαι	M	M	+	+			μεμιμημένα 1
μιμνῄσκομαι	–	M*	–	–		μέμνημαι 20	
						μεμνημένος 13	
μισέω	A	–	–	–	μεμίσηκα 1		
μουσόω	–	–	+	+			μεμούσωμαι 1
μυέω	–	P	+	+			μεμυήμεθα 1
							μεμυημένοι 2
μυρίζω	–	A	+	+		μεμύρισμαι 1	
μυστιλάομαι	M	–	+	+		μεμυστιλημένοι 1	μεμυστιλημένας 1
καταμυττωτεύω	–	–	+	+			-μεμυττωτευμένα 1
ναυμαχέω	A	A	+	+	νεναυμάχηκε 1		
νευρόω	–	–	+	+			νενεύρωται 1
συννέφω	A	–	+	–	ξυννένοφε 1		
					ξυννενοφυῖα 1		
νέω	–	A	+	+			νενη(σ)μένος 2
ἐπινέω	–	–	+	+			ἐπινενημέναι 1
ἀπονίζω	A	–	+	+		ἀπονενίμμεθα 1	
						ἀπονενιμμένους 1	
ὑπονοέω	–	A	–	–	ὑπονενοήκαμεν 1		
νομίζω	AP	A	–	+	νενόμικας 2		νενόμισμαι 4
							νενομισμένους 1
νουθετέω	AP	A	+	+	νενουθέτηκεν 1		
ξέω	–	–	+	+			ἐξεσμένον 1
ξυρέω	–	–	+	+			ἐξυρημένος 3
ἀνοίγνυμι	AP	A	+	+			ἀνεῳγμένα 1
παροίγνυμι	–	A	+	+			παρεῳγμένης 1

[1] ἐπιλέλοιπε Lys. 449 is intransitive.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 216		
					εἰδώς 11		
δίοιδα	–	–	–	–	δίοιδα 2		
σύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	ξύνοιδα 7		
					ξυνειδώς 2		
εἰσοικίζω	–	–	+	+		εἰσῳκίσμεθα 1	
ἐξοικίζω	–	M	+	+		ἐξῳκισμένοι 1	
ἐξοικοδομέω	–	–	+	+			ἐξῳκοδόμηται 1
ἀπόλλυμι	AP	A	+	+/–	ἀπολώλεκα 4		
					ἀπολωλεκώς 2		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπόλωλα 23		
					ἀπολωλώς 1		
ἐξόλλυμι	–	A	+	+	ἐξολωλεκώς 1		
ἐξόλλυμαι	–	M	+	–	ἐξόλωλα 3		
					ἐξολωλότες 1		
ἐξομματόω	–	–	+	+			ἐξωμμάτωται 1
ὄμνυμι	AP	A	+	+	ὀμώμοκε 2		
ἀπόμνυμι	A	A	+	+	ἀπομώμοκα 1		
					ἀπομωμοκότας 1		
συνόμνυμι	A	A	+	+			ξυνομώμοται 1
ἐξοπλίζω	–	–	+	+		ἐξωπλισμένων 1	ἐξωπλισμένη 1
ὀπτάω	AP	AM	+	+			ὠπτημένος 3
ἐξοπτάω	A	–	+	+			ἐξωπτημένον 1
ὁράω	A	AMP	+/–	+/–	ὄπωπα 2		
					ἑόρακα 6		
ὀργίζομαι	–	M*	+	–		ὠργισμένος 2	
ὁρμίζομαι	–	–	+	+		ὡρμισμένην 1	
ὄρνυμαι	M	–	+	+/–	ὀρώρει 1		
ἐνουρέω	–	–	+	+	ἐνεουρηκότες 1		
ὀφλισκάνω	–	A	+	–	ὦφληκα 2		
ὀψωνέω	A	–	+	+	ὠψώνηκα 1		
παίζω	A	A	+	+			πέπαισται 1
ἐπεισπαίω	–	–	?	?	ἐπεισπέπαικεν[1] 1		
ὑπερπαίω	–	–	–	–	ὑπερπέπαικεν 1		
πανουργέω	A	A	+	+	πεπανούργηκας 1		
					πεπανουργηκότα 1		
πάομαι	–	–	?	?		πέπαται 1	
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πέπονθα 28		
					πεπονθώς 2		
πατέω	AP	–	+	+	πεπάτηκας 1		
παύομαι	M	M	+	+		πέπαυμαι 5	
						πεπαυμένος 2	
πείθω	A	AP	+	+			πεπεισμένα 1
πείθομαι	M	M	+	+/–	πέποιθα 5	πέπεισθε 1	
					πεποιθώς 2		
ἀναπείθω	AP	AP	+	+	ἀναπέπεικεν 1		ἀναπεπεισμένον 1

[1] ἐπεισπέπαικεν Pl. 508a is intransitive.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πειράω/ομαι	AM	AM[1]	+	+			πεπειράσθω 1
ἀναπείρω	–	A	+	+			ἀμπεπαρμένον 1
πέρδομαι	M	–	+	–	πέπορδα 3		
πετάννυμι	–	–	+	+			πεπταμένοισιν 1
προπετάννυμι	–	–	+	+			προπέπταται 1
πέττω	AP	–	+	+			πέπεπται 1
							πεπεμμένος 3
ἐμπήγνυμαι	–	–	+	–	ἐμπέπηγε 1		
ἀναπίμπλημι	–	–	+	+			ἀναπεπλημένος 1
ἐμπίμπρημι	A	AP	+	+			ἐμπεπρῆσθαι 1
							ἐμπεπρημένης 1
πίνω	A	A	+	+	πεπωκώς 2		
ἐκπίνω	A	A	+	+	ἐκπέπωκα 1		
ἐμπίνω	–	A	+	+	ἐμπεπωκότες 1		
καταπίνω	A	A	+	+	καταπέπωκε 2		
					καταπεπωκώς 2		
ὑποπίνω	A	–	+	+	ὑποπεπώκαμεν 1		
					ὑποπεπωκώς 2		
πιπράσκω	–	–	+	+			πέπραμαι 5
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πέπτωκα 2		
					πεπτωκότες 1		
ἐκπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐκπέπτωκεν 1		
ἐμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐμπέπτωκε 1		
ὑποπίπτω	–	A	+	–	ὑποπεπτωκότες 1		
πλάττω	A	A	+	+			πεπλασμένην 1
καταπλάττω	–	A	+	+			-πεπλασμένος 2
ἐμπλέκω	–	–	+	+			ἐμπεπλεγμένη 1
πλέω/πλώω	A	A	+	+	πεπλώκαμεν 1		
περιπλέω	–	A	+	+	περιπεπλευκότος 1		
πλήττω	–	P	+	+	πεπλήγη 1		πεπλήγμεθα 1
							πεπληγμένος 3
ἐκπλήττομαι	–	M*	+	–		ἐκπεπληγμένος 2	
παραπλήττω	–	–	+	+			-πεπληγμένος 2
πλουτέω	A	A	–	–	πεπλούτηκε 1		
πνίγω	AM	–	+	+			πεπνιγμένον 1
ποιέω	AM	AM	+	+	πεπόηκα 13	πεπόημαι 4	πεπόημαι 2
					πεποηκώς 2		
ἐμποιέω	A	–	+	+			ἐμπεποημένη 1
πονέω	AM	A	–	+	πεπόνηκα 1		
ἀποπονέω	–	–	+	+	ἀποπεπόνηκας 1		
ποτάομαι	M	–	–	+		πεπότημαι 2	
πράττω	AMP	AP	+/–	+/–	πέπραγα[2] 6		πέπρακται 2
					πεπραγότι[2] 1		πεπραγμένα 1
Aristophanes	**PS**	**AS**	**Ch**	**Co**	**Active**	**Middle**	**Passive**
ἐκπρεμνίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐκπεπρεμνισμένα 1

[1] AS M= πειραθέντες + gen.

[2] All forms of πέπραγα/πεπραγότι are intransitive: 5× + adverb; 2× + πάντ' (ἀγαθά).

πρεσβεύω	AM	–	–	+/–	πεπρέσβευκας 1		
πτερόω	AP	AP	+	+		ἐπτέρωται 1	ἐπτερωμένος 3
ἀναπτερόω	P	A	+	+	ἀνεπτέρωκεν 1	ἀνεπτέρωμαι 2	
περιπτίττω	–	–	+	+			περιεπτισμένοι 1
πυλόω	–	–	+	+			πεπύλωται 1
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–		ἐπεπύσμην 5	
καταπυρπολέω	–	–	+	+			καταπε-ημένος 1
ῥάπτω	A	M	+	+			ἐρραμμένους 1
διαρρέω	–	–	+	–	διερρυηκέναι 1		
					διερρυηκόσιν 1		
ἐκρέω	–	–	+	–	ἐξερρύηκε 1		
ῥήγνυμαι	M	M*	+	–	ἐρρωγυῖαν 1		
καταρρινάω	–	–	+	+			κατερρινημένον 1
ῥιπτάζω	–	–	+	+			ἐρριπτασμένον 2
ῥίπτω	A	A	+	+			ἔρριπται 1
							ἐρριμμένος 1
ἀναρρίπτω	–	–	+	+			ἀνέρριμμαι 1
σαίρω	–	–	–	+	σεσηρώς 2		
σείω	AM	A	+	+			σεσεῖσθαι 1
ἐκσείω	–	–	+	+			ἐκσέσεισται 1
σημαίνω	–	–	+	+			σεσημάνθαι 1
κατασήπομαι	–	–	+	–	κατασέσηπας 1		
σιωπάω	A	A	–	+	σεσιώπηκας 1		
διασκέπτομαι	–	–	+	+		διέσκεμμαι 1	διεσκέφθαι 1
σκευάζω	–	A	+	+		ἐσκευασμένος 2	ἐσκευασμένα 1
ἐπισκευάζω	–	A	+	+			ἐπεσκευασμένος 2
παρασκευάζω	AM	–	+	+		-εσκευάσμεθα 2	-εσκευασμένος 3
						-εσκευασμένος 6	
σκηνάομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐσκηνημένοι 1	
σκοροδίζω	–	A	+	+			ἐσκοροδισμένος 2
ἀποσκοτόω	–	–	+	+			ἀπεσκοτωμένα 1
σοβέω	A	–	+	+	σεσοβήκαμεν 1		
ἀνασπάω	A	A	+	+	ἀνεσπακώς 1		
κατασπάω	–	A	+	+	κατέσπακας 1		
σπείρω	AP	A	+	+			ἔσπαρται 1
							ἐσπαρμένα 1
διασπλεκόω	–	–	+	+			διεσπλεκωμένη 1
σπουδάζω	A	A	–	+	ἐσπούδακα 2		
					ἐσπουδακυῖα 1		
σταθεύω	A	–	+	+			ἐσταθευμέναις 1
ἀποστερέω	AP	A	+	+	ἀπεστέρηκας 1		
στεφανόω	AM	AM	+	+		ἐστεφανωμένος 3	ἐστεφανωμένον 1
στίζω	P	A	+	+			ἐστιγμένος 1
ἀποστλεγγίζω	–	–	+	+		-εστλεγγισμένοις 1	
στρατεύομαι	M	–	+	+		ἐστρατευμένοι 1	
περιστρέφω	–	–	+	+			περιεστραμμένον 1

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
στύω	M	A	–	–	ἔστυκα 4		
					ἐστυκώς 5		
καταστωμύλλω	–	M	+	+			κατεστωμυλμένε 1
διασφηκόω	–	–	+	+			διεσφηκωμένον 1
σχίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐσχισμένην 1
ταράττω	A	P	+	+			τετάρακται 1
							τεταραγμένος 2
συνταράττω	–	A	+	+			συντετάραξαι 1
παρατάττω	–	–	+	+		παρατεταγμένον 1	
προτάττω	–	–	+	+		προτεταγμένοι 1	
προστάττω	–	A	+	+			προστέτακται 1
							προστεταγμένα 1
παρατείνω	–	P	+	+		παρατέταται 1	παρατέταμαι 1
ἐκτειχίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐκτετείχισται 1
τέμνω	AP	A	+	+			τετμημένων 1
κατατέμνω	A	P	+	+			κατατετμημένα 1
τετραίνω	–	A	+	+			τέτρηται 1
							τετρημένος 3
ἐντευτλιόω	–	–	+	+			ἐντετευτλιωμένης 1
ἐντήκομαι	–	–	+	–	ἐντετακυῖαν 1		
κατατήκομαι	–	–	+	–	κατατέτηκα 1		
τίκτω	A	AM	+	–	τέτοκεν 1		
					τετοκυίας 2		
κατατιλάω	AP	A	+	+	κατατετίληκεν 1		
ἀποτίλλω	–	A	+	+		ἀποτετιλμένας 1	ἀποτετιλμένῳ 1
παρατίλλω	MP	–	+	+		παρατετιλμένος 3	
τιτρώσκω	–	–	+	+			τέτρωται 1
							τετρωμένον 1
τλάω	–	A	–	+	τέτληκας 2		
ἐκτοξεύω	A	–	+	+			ἐκτετοξεῦσθαι 1
τρέπω	AMP	AM[1]	+	+	τέτροφας 1	τέτραπται 3	
ἀνατρέπω	A	–	+	+		ἀνατετραμμένος 1	ἀνατετραμμένος 2
τρέφω	AP	AP	+	+			τέθραμμαι 1
							τεθραμμένη 1
ἐκτρέφω	–	AP	+	+			ἐκτεθραμμένος 1
τρίβω	AP	A	+	+			τετριμμένος 2
ἐντρίβω	–	A	+	+		ἐντέτριψαι 1	
						ἐντετριμμένος 2	
ἐπιτρίβω	AP	AP	+	+	ἐπιτέτριφεν 1		ἐπιτέτριμμαι 4
							ἐπιτετριμμένος 1
κατατρίβω	A	–	+	+			κατατέτριμμαι 2
ἐκτρυπάω	–	–	+	+	ἐκτετρύπηκεν 1		
διατρώγω	–	A	+	+			διατέτρωκται 1
ἐντυλίττω	–	A	+	+		ἐντετυλίχθαι 1	
ἀνατυρβάζω	–	–	+	+	ἀνατετυρβακώς 1		

[1] AS M = both ἐτραπόμην and ἐτράπην.

Aristophanes	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ὑβρίζω	AP	–	+	+	ὑβρίκασι 1		ὑβρισμένη 1
ἀναφαίνομαι	–	M*	+	–	ἀναπέφηνεν 1		
φαρμάττω	–	–	+	+			πεφάρμαχθε 1
ἐκφέρω	AP	A	+	+	ἐξενήνοχας 1		
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	πέφευγα 2		
ἐκφεύγω	–	A	+	+	ἐκπέφευγα 2		
διαφθείρω	–	AP	+	+	διέφθορα[1] 2		
φοβέομαι	M	M*	–	–		πεφόβημαι 1	
ἐμφορβειόω	–	–	+	+			ἐμπε-ειωμένον 1
φράττω	–	A	+	+			πέφρακται 1
φρίττω	–	A	–	–	πέφρικα 1		
φροντίζω	A	A	–	+	πεφροντίκαμεν 1		
καταφροντίζω	–	–	+	+	καταπεφρόντικα 1		
προφυράω	–	–	+	+			προπεφύραται 1
							προπεφυραμένον 1
φυσάω	A	A	+	+			ἐπεφύσητο 1
φυσιγγόω	–	–	+	+			πεφυσιγγωμένοι 1
φύομαι	M	M*	+	–	πέφυκα 6		
					πεφυκώς 2		
ἐμφύομαι	–	–	+	–	ἐμπέφυκε 1		
χαίρω	A	A*	–	–	κεχάρηκας 1	κεχάρησαι 1	
χαρίζομαι	M	M	+	+		κεχάρισμαι 2	
						κεχαρισμένον 1	
χάσκω	A	A	–	–	κέχηνα 13		
					κεχηνώς 11		
χέζω	A	AM	+	+			κεχεσμένον 1
ἐγχέζω	–	A	+	+	ἐγκέχοδα 2		
ἐπιχέζω	–	–	+	+	Ἐπικεχοδώς[2] 1		
χειροτονέω	A	A	+	+	κεχειροτονήκασι 1		κεχειροτόνημαι 1
καταχέω	AMP	A	+	+			καταχεχυμενο- 1
χορεύω	A	AM	+	+			κεχόρευται 1
χρίω	–	–	+	+			κεχριμένου 1
ψηφίζομαι	M	M	+	+		ἐψήφισται 1	ἐψήφισται 1
ἀποψιλόω	–	–	+	+			ἀπεψιλωμένον 1
ἀποψωλέω	–	+	+	+		ἀπεψωλημένος 4	
ὠνέομαι	M	–	+	+		ἑώνηται 1	ἑώνηται 1
						ἑωνημένον 1	
ὑπωπιάζω	–	–	+	+			ὑπωπιασμέναι 1

[1] διέφθορας F 579 and διέφθορεν F 506,1 are transitive.
[2] Ἐπικεχοδώς is used as a personal name.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀγγέλλω	AP	AP	+	+			ἠγγελμένοις 1
ἐπαγγέλλω	AM	AP	+	+			ἐπηγγέλθαι 1
ἀνάγομαι	M	M	+	+		ἀνῆκται 1	
						ἀνηγμέναι 1	
ἀδικέω	AP	AP	+	+	ἠδικήκατε 2		ἠδίκημαι 2
					ἠδικηκώς 2		ἠδικημέναις 1
αἱματόω	–	–	+	+			ᾑματωμένον 1
αἱρέω/ομαι	AM	AMP	+	+	ᾑρηκώς 2	ᾕρηντο 1	ᾕρημαι 3
							ᾑρημένος 4
ἀφαιρέομαι	M	M	+	+		ἀφῄρηνται 1	
διαιρέω/ομαι	A	AM	+	+		διῃρημένοι 1	διῄρημαι 2
							διῃρημένος 2
περιαιρέω	–	A	+	+			περιῃρημένου 1
αἴρω	MP	AMP	+	+			ᾖρτο 1
							ἠρμέναι 1
ἀπαίρω	A	A	+	+	ἀπηρκότα 1		
ἐπαίρω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐπῆρται 1
							ἐπηρμένοι 1
αἰσθάνομαι	M	M	+/–	+/–		ᾔσθηται 1	
						ᾐσθημένοι 1	
προαισθάνομαι	–	M	+/–	+/–		προῃσθημένοις 1	
αἰτιάομαι	M	MP	+	+			ᾐτιαμένων 1
ἀκούω	AP	AP	+/–	+/–	ἀκήκοα 2		
ἐξαλείφω	–	A	+	+			ἐξαληλιμμένον 1
ἀλέω	–	–	+	+			ἀληλεμένος 1
ἁλίσκομαι	P	P	+	–	ἑάλωκα 4		
					ἑαλωκώς 5		
ἀναλίσκω	AP	AP	+	+	ἀνήλωκα 3		
					ἀναλωκυίας 1		
ἀπαναλίσκω	P	P	+	+	ἀπαναλωκυίας 1		
ἀνταλλάσσω	–	A	+	+			ἀντηλλαγμένος 1
ἀπαλλάσσω	AP	AMP	+	+			ἀπήλλαγμαι 4
							ἀπηλλαγμένην 1
διαλλάσσομαι	–	M*	+	+		διηλλαγμένα 1	
ἁμαρτάνω	A	AP	+	–	ἡμάρτηκα 4		ἡμάρτημαι 2
ἀμελέω	AP	A	–	+			ἠμελημένων 1
ἀναγκάζω	AP	AP	+	+			ἠναγκάσμεθα 1
							ἠναγκασμένος 2
ἐξανθέω	–	–	–	–	ἐξηνθηκός 1		
ἐναντιόομαι	M	M*	–	+		ἠναντιώμεθα 1	
ἀπατάω	A	AP	+	+			ἠπατημένος 2
ἐξαπατάω	–	A	+	+			ἐξηπατῆσθαι 2
							ἐξηπατημένος 1
ἅπτω	M	AP	+	+			ἡμμένος 2
ἐξαρτάομαι	–	–	–	–		ἐξήρτηται 1	

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἐξαρτύω	AM	MP	+	+			ἐξήρτυμαι 3
							ἐξηρτυμένα 1
ὑπάρχομαι	–	–	+	+			ὑπῆρκτο 1
αὐτομολέω	A	A	+	+	ηὐτο-λήκεσαν 2		
ἀπαυτομολέω	–	–	+	+	-ηυτομολήκεσαν 1		
ἀναβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἀναβέβηκα 3		
ἀποβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἀποβεβηκώς 2		
διαβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	διεβεβήκει 1		
					διαβεβηκώς 3		
ξυμβαίνω	A	A*P	+/–	+/–	ξυμβέβηκα 6		
					ξυμβεβηκότα 1		ξυμβεβάσθαι 1
παραβαίνω	AP	A*P	+	+			παραβεβάσθαι 1
διαβάλλω	AP	AP	+	+		διεβέβληντο 1	διαβεβλῆσθαι 1
ἐμβάλλω	AP	A	+	+	ἐμβεβληκέναι[1] 1		ἐμβεβλῆσθαι 1
ἐσβάλλω	A	AM	+	+	ἐσβέβληκα[2] 4		
					ἐσβεβληκώς[2] 4		
καταβάλλω	A	A	+	+			καταβεβλημένα 1
παραβάλλω	AM	AM	+	+		παραβεβλημένοι 1	παραβεβλημένοι 1
προβάλλομαι	MP	–	+	+		προβέβληνται 1	
ὑπερβάλλω	A		–	–	ὑπερεβεβλήκει[3] 1		
βλαστάνω	–	–	+	–	ἐβεβλαστήκει 1		
βοηθέω	A	A	+/–	+	ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν 1		
					βεβοηθηκώς 8		
ξυμβοηθέω	A	A	+	+	-βεβοηθηκέναι 1		
παραβοηθέω	A	A	+	+	-βεβοηθηκότες 1		
προσβοηθέω	A	A	+	+	-εβεβοηθήκει 3		
					-βεβοηθηκώς 5		
βουλεύομαι	M	M	+	+		βεβουλεῦσθαι 1	
						βεβουλευμένοι 1	
γαμέω	–	A	+	+	ἐγεγαμήκει 1		
γεύομαι	–	M	–	+/–		ἐγέγευντο 1	
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–		γεγένημαι 29	
						γεγενημένος 42	
ἐπιγίγνομαι	M	M	+	–		ἐπιγεγένημαι 3	
						ἐπιγεγενημένης 1	
περιγίγνομαι	M	M	–	–		περιγεγενῆσθαι 1	
						-γεγενημένους 1	
προγίγνομαι	M	M	+	–		προγεγενημένος 5	
προσγίγνομαι	M	M	+	–		προσγεγένηντο 1	
						-γεγενημένος 6	

[1] ἐμβεβληκέναι 7.70.6 is intransitive.

[2] ἐσβεβλήκοιεν 2.48.2 is transitive; ἐσβεβληκυῖαν 2.81.1, ἐσβεβληκότων 1.59, 2.54.5, 3.115.1, ἐσεβεβλήκει 3.96.3, ἐσεβεβλήκεσαν 4.1.3, 4.24.2 are intransitive.

[3] ὑπερεβεβλήκει 8.104.5 is construed with τὴν ἄκραν.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
γιγνώσκω	A	A*P	+/–	+/–	ἐγνώκασιν 1		ἔγνωσμαι 2
ἀναγιγνώσκω	–	A*	+/–	+/–	ἀνεγνωκέναι 1		
διαγιγνώσκω	A	A*	+/–	+/–	διεγνωκότας 1		διέγνωστο 1
							διεγνωσμένην 1
καταγιγνώσκω	–	A*P	+/–	+/–	κατεγνωκώς 2		
γράφω	A	AMP	+	+	γέγραφε 1		γέγραμμαι 7
							γεγραμμένος 2
ἀντιγράφω	–	–	+	+			ἀντεγέγραπτο 1
ἐγγράφω	–	A	+	+			ἐγγεγραμμένον 1
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 13		
					δεδιώς 44		
δέχομαι	M	M	+	+		δεδεγμένοι 1	
δέω	–	A	+	+			δεδεμένος 3
ὑποδέομαι	–	–	+	+		ὑποδεδεμένοι 1	
δηλόω	AP	AP	+	+	δεδήλωκεν 2		δεδήλωται 3
							δεδηλωμένον 1
ἐκδιαιτάομαι	–	–	–	+		ἐξεδιῄτητο 1	
δίδωμι	AP	AP	+	+	δέδωκα 2		ἐδέδοτο 1
							δεδομένην 1
ἀποδίδωμι	AP	AMP	+	+	ἀποδεδώκεσαν 1		
					ἀποδεδωκότες 1		
ἐνδίδωμι	AP	A	+	+	ἐνεδεδώκει 1		
					ἐνδεδωκότες 1		
παραδίδωμι	AP	AP	+	+	παραδεδώκοιεν 1		
					παραδεδωκώς 2		
καταδικάζω	–	M	+	+		καταδεδικάσθαι 1	
δοκέω	A	A	–	–			ἐδέδοκτο 1
							δεδογμένος 3
προδοκέω	–	–	–	–			προεδέδοκτο 1
							προδεδογμένα 1
δοκιμάζω	A	P	+	+			δεδοκιμασμένου 1
δουλόω	AM	AMP	+	+			δεδουλῶσθαι 1
							δεδουλωμένος 5
καταδραμεῖν	–	A	–	+	-δεδραμήκεσαν 1		
δρῶ	AP	AP	+	+	δέδρακεν 2		δεδραμένων 1
					δεδρακότες εἰσι 1		
διεγγυάω	–	–	+	+			διηγγυημένοι 1
ἐθίζομαι	–	–	+	+			εἰθισμένοι 1
ξυνεθίζομαι	–	–	+	+			ξυνειθισμένοι 1
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἴωθα 19		
					εἰωθώς 17		
ἐλευθερόω	AP	AP	+	+			ἠλευθέρωντο 1
							ἠλευθερωμένοι 1
ἀνέλκω	–	A	+	+			ἀνειλκυσμένος 4
καθέλκω	A	AP	+	+			καθειλκυσμένον 1
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα 2		
					ἐοικώς 2		

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἐργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		εἴργασμαι 2	εἴργαστο 1
						εἰργασμένος (εἰμι) 2	εἰργασμένος 2
ἐξεργάζομαι	–	M	+	+		ἐξείργασθε 1	ἐξείργασμαι 3
							ἐξειργασμένα 1
ξυνεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ξυνειργασμένων 1
προεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			προειργασμένος 3
προσεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			προσείργαστο 1
ἀπέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἀπεληλύθεσαν 1		
					ἀπεληλυθώς 3		
διεξέρχομαι	–	A	+	+	διεξεληλύθασι 1		
ἐξέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐξεληλυθότων 1		
ἐπέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐπεληλυθότα 2		
ἐσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐσεληλυθέναι 1		
					ἐσεληλυθώς 4		
ξυνέρχομαι	–	A	+	+	ξυνεληλυθότες 1		
παρέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	παρελήλυθα 2		
					παρεληλυθώς 1		
προέρχομαι	–	A	+	+	προεληλύθεσαν 1		
					-εληλυθότας 1		
προσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	προσεληλύθει 1		
ἑτοιμάζω	AM	M	+	+		ἡτοιμάσθαι 1	ἡτοίμασται 1
εὑρίσκω	AMP	AMP	+	+/–		ηὑρῆσθαι 1	ηὕρηται 1
ἀπεχθάνομαι	–	M	–	–		ἀπηχθημένους 1	
κατέχω	AP	A	–	+	κατεσχηκότος 1		
ζωγρέω	A	AP	+	+			ἐζωγρημένοι 1
ἡσσάομαι	M/P	M*/ P	+/–	–			ἥσσημαι 4
							ἡσσημένος 6
θαρσέω	A	A	–	+	τεθαρσηκότες 2		
θεραπεύω	AP	A	+	+	τεθεραπευκώς 2		
θνήσκω	A	–	+	–	τέθνηκα 7		
					τεθνηκώς 6		
					τεθνεώς 12		
προθνήσκω	–	–			προτεθνάναι 1		
ἐνθυμέομαι	M	M*	+	+/–			ἐντεθύμηται 1
θωρακίζεσθαι	–	–	+	+		τε-ισμένους 1	
ἱδρύω	–	AMP	+	+			ἵδρυμαι 3
							ἱδρυμένοι 1
ἀφίημι	AM	AP	+	+			ἀφείσθω 1
							ἀφειμένοι 1
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–		ἀφῖγμαι 7	
						ἀφιγμένος 6	
προαφικνέομαι	–	–	+	–		προαφῖκτο 1	
						προαφιγμένος 1	

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active		Middle		Passive	
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα	4				
					ἑστηκώς	1				
					ἑστώς	2				
ἀνθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀνθεστώς	2				
ἀντικαθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀντικαθ-κυῖας	1				
ἀφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀφέστηκα	12				
					ἀφεστηκώς	10				
					ἀφεστώς	8				
ἐγκαθίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ἐγκαθεστάναι	1				
					ἐγκαθεστώτων	1				
ἐφίστημι/αμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἐφεστῶτας	1				
καθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+/–	καθέστηκα	23				
					καθεστηκώς	10				
					καθεστώς	18				
μεθίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	μεθεστάναι	1				
					μεθεστηκυίας	1				
ξυναφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ξυναφεστῶτα	1				
ξυνεφίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ξυνεφεστῶτες	1				
ξυνίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ξυνέστηκα	2				
					ξυνεστηκώς	2				
					ξυνεστώς	5				
παρίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	παρέστηκα	2				
					παρεστηκός	1				
περιίσταμαι	M	AM[1]	+	+	περιέστηκα	7				
					περιεστῶτος	3				
προΐσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	προέστηκα	3				
					προεστώς	5				
προκαθίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	-καθεστηκυίας	1				
κάω	P	A	+	+					κεκαυμένης	1
κακόω	AP	AP	+	+					κεκακωμένην	1
καλέω	AP	P	+/–	+					κέκλημαι	3
									κεκλημένους	1
κάμνω	A	–	–	–	ἐκεκμήκεσαν	1				
					κεκμηκόσιν	1				
					κεκμηῶτας	1				
κηρύσσω	A	AP	+	+					κεκηρυγμένα	1
ἐναποκλάω	–	–	+	+					ἐναπεκέκλαστο	1
ἀποκλήω	P	AM	+	+					ἀποκεκλῃμένος	4
ἐπικλίνομαι	–	–	–	–			ἐπικεκλιμένων	1		
κοινολογέομαι	M	M	–	+					ἐκεκοινολόγηντο	1
κομίζω	AMP	AMP	+	+			κεκομισμένοι	1		
ἐκκόμιζω	M	M	+	+			ἐκ-ισμένοι ἦσαν	1		
κόπτω	AP	AP	+	+					κεκομμένον	1
κοσμέω	AM	AP	+	+					κεκόσμηνται	1
κρατέω	AP	AP	–	–	ἐκεκρατηκέσαν	1				
					κεκρατηκώς	3				
ἀποκρίνομαι	M	MP	+	+					ἀποκεκρίσθαι	1

[1] AS M = περιέστην.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀντικρούω	–	–	–	–	ἀντεκεκρούκει 1		
κρύπτω	P	AP	+	+			κεκρυμμένον 1
κτάομαι	M	MP	+	+		κέκτημαι 10 κεκτημένος 4	 κεκτημένης 1
κυκλόομαι	MP	MP	+	+			κεκυκλωμένοις 1
ἐγκύπτω	–	–	+	+	ἐγκεκυφότες 1		
κωλύω	AP	AP	+	+			κεκώλυμαι 4
λαμβάνω	A	AMP	+	+	εἴληφα 4 εἰληφότες 1		
ἀναλαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	ἀνειλήφει 1 ἀνειληφότες 1		
ἀπολαμβάνω	AP	AP	+	+	ἀπειληφέναι 1	ἀπειλημμένος 5	
καταλαμβάνω	AP	AP	+	+			κατειλῆφθαι 1 κατειλημμένος 6
ξυλλαμβάνω	A	AMP	+	+			ξυνειλημμένος 2
παραλαμβάνω	A	AP	+	+	παρειληφώς 2		
προκατα-άνω	AP	A	+	+			-ειλημμένων 1
λανθάνω	A	A	–	–	ἐλελήθεσαν 1		
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	AP	+	+	εἴρηκα 7 εἰρηκότων 1		εἴρηται 41 εἰρημένος 13
ξυλλέγω	AMP	AMP	+	+			ξυνειλεγμένος 4
προερῶ/εἶπον	–	A	+	+			προείρητο 4 προειρημένος 3
λείπω	MP	P	+	+			λελειμμένοι 1
ἐγκαταλείπω	–	AP	+	+			-λελειμμένοι 1
ἐπιλείπω	–	A	–	–	ἐπελελοίπει 3		
ὑπολείπω	AP	AMP	+	+			ὑπελέλειπτο 2 ὑπολελειμμένος 2
προλοχίζω	A	–	+	+			προλελοχισμένας 1
λύω	AP	AP	+	+	λελυκέναι 1 λελυκότες εἰσι 1		λέλυμαι 11 λελυμένων 1
διαλύω	AM	AMP	+	+			διελέλυντο 2
καταλύω	AP	AP	+	+		καταλελύσθαι 1 καταλελυμένους 1	κατελέλυτο 1
ἐπιμελέομαι	M	M*	+/–	+		ἐπιμεμελήμεθα 1	
μελιτόω	–	–	+	+			μεμελιτωμένην 1
ἐμμένω	A	A	–	+	ἐμμεμένηκεν 1		
μηνύω	AP	AP	+	+			μεμήνυμαι 3 μεμηνυμένων 1
μινμήσκομαι	M	M[1]	–	–			μέμνημαι 7 μεμνημένος 2
μονόομαι	–	P	+/–	–			μεμονῶσθαι 1 μεμονωμένος 3
ἀντιναυπηγέω	–	A	+	+			-νεναυπηγημένας 1
διανέμω	A	–	+	+			διανενεμημένα 1

[1] AS M = both ἐμνησάμην and ἐμνήσθην.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
νικάω	AP	AP	+/–	–	νενίκηκα 4		νενίκηνται 1
					νενικηκώς 6		νενικημένος 3
ἐκνικάω	–	A	+/–	–	ἐκνενικηκότα 1		
προνικάω	–	–	+/–	–	προνε-κηκέναι 1		προνενικῆσθαι 1
διανοέομαι	M	M*	–	+		διανενοημένοι 1	
νομίζω	AP	AP	–	+			νενομισμένην 1
ἀνοίγω	AP	AP	+	+			ἀνεῳγμένος 3
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 67		
					εἰδώς 52		
ξύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	ξύνοιδα 4		
					ξυνειδώς 7		
πρόοιδα	–	–	–	–	πρόοιδα 3		
					προειδώς 5		
κατοικέω	A	A	–	+		κατῴκημαι 4	
						κατῳκημένους 1	
οἰκοδομέω	AP	AMP	+	+			ᾠκοδόμητο 2
							ᾠκοδομημένου 1
ἐνοικοδομέω	–	AM	+	+			ἐνῳκοδομημένος 2
ξυνοικοδομέω	–	–	+	+			-ῳκοδομημένοι 1
παροικοδομέω	AP	A	+	+	-ῳκοδομήκασιν 1		
ἀπόλλυμι	A	A	+	+/–	ἀπολώλεκα 2		
					ἀπολωλεκότες 2		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπωλώλει 2		
					ἀπολωλότων 1		
ὁμιλέω	A	A	–	+	ὡμιλήκει 1		
					ὡμιληκόσι 1		
ξυνόμνυμι	A	A	+	+	ξυνομωμοκότες 1		
ὀνομάζω	AP	AP	+	+			ὠνόμασμαι 4
							ὠνομασμένος 3
μετονομάζω	–	–	+	+			μετωνόμασται 1
ὁπλίζω	A	AP	+	+			ὡπλισμένος 4
ὁράω	AP	AP	+/–	+/–	ἑοράκεσαν 1		
ὁρμάομαι	M	M*	+/–	+/–		ὥρμημαι 25	
						ὡρμημένος 6	
παιωνίζω	A	A	–	+			ἐπεπαιώνιστο 1
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πέπονθα 8		
					πεπονθότας 1		
παύομαι	M	M	+	+		πέπαυμαι 3	
ἀναπαύομαι	M		+	+		ἀναπεπαυμένους 1	
πείθω	AMP	AP	–	+			πεπεῖσθαι 1
							πεπεισμένος 2
πείθομαι	M	–	–	+/–	πεποιθέναι 1		
πειράομαι	M	MP	+	+		πεπειραμένοις 1	
διαπειράομαι	–	–	+	+		διαπεπειρᾶσθαι 1	
πέμπω	AP	AP	+	+	πεπόμφασι 1		
περαιόομαι	M	M*	+	+		πεπεραιωμένων 1	
πηγνύναι	–	–	+	–			ἐπεπήγει 2

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πεπτώκεσαν 1		
					πεπτωκώς 3		
ἐκπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐκπέπτωκα 2		
					ἐκπεπτωκώς 5		
ἐμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐμπεπτωκότας 1		
περιπίπτω	A	A	+	–	περιπετωκότες 2		
προσπίπτω	A	A	+	–	προσπετωκότων 1		
πλανάομαι	M	M*	–	–			πεπλανημένας 1
ἐσπλέω	A	A	+	+	ἐσπεπλεύκα 2		
παραπλέω	A	A	+	+	-επεπλεύκεσαν 1		
περιπλέω	A	A	+	+	-πεπλευκυῖα 1		
πληρόω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐπεπλήρωντο 1
							πεπληρωμένας 1
πλήσσω	–	P	+	+			πεπληγμένος 2
ἐκπλήσσω	A	AP	+	+		ἐκπεπληγμένος 2	ἐκπεπλῆχθαι 1
							ἐκπεπληγμένος 5
καταπλήσσω	A	AP	+	+			καταπέπληγμαι 2
							-πεπληγμένος 2
ποιέω	AMP	AMP	+	+	πεποίηκα 7	πεποίημαι 4	
						πεποιημένος 2	πεποιημένος 3
ἐκπολιορκέω	–	AP	–	+			-πεπολιορκημένη 1
πονέω	AM	–	–	+	ἐπεπονήκει 1		
πράσσω	AMP	AMP	+/–	+/–	ἐπεπράγεσαν[1] 2		πέπραγμαι 2
						πεπραγμένος 1	πεπραγμένος 8
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–		πεπύσθαι 1	
						πεπυσμένος 1	
ῥώννυμαι	–	M*	–	–		ἔρρωμαι 5	
ἐπιρρώννυμαι	–	P	+	–		ἐπέρρωντο 2	
σιδηρόω	–	–	+	+			ἐσεσιδήρωτο 1
σκεδάννυμαι	M	M*	+	+		ἐσκεδασμένος 4	
κατασκευάζω	MP	AMP	+	+			κατεσκεύασται 1
							-εσκευασμένην 1
παρασκευάζω	AMP	AMP	+	+			παρεσκεύασμαι 10
						-εσκευασμένος 3	-εσκευασμένος 11
προπαρα-άζω	AM	–	+	+			-εσκευασμένους 1
σκηνέω	–	AM	–	+			ἐσκήνηντο 1
διασπάω	–	P	+	+			διεσπασμένος 5
διασπείρω	–	–	+	+		διεσπάρθαι 1	
						διεσπαρμένων 1	
σπένδω	AM	M	+	+			ἔσπεισμαι 3
ἐπιστέλλω	A	AP	+	+	ἐπέσταλκα 2		ἐπεσταλμένος 3
προσεπιστέλλω	–	A	+	+			προσεπεστάλθαι 1
στερέω	P	AP	+	+			ἐστέρημαι 3
							ἐστερημένους 1
ἀποστερέω	AP	A	+	+	ἀπεστερηκέναι 1		

[1] ἐπεπράγεσαν in 2.4.8 and 7.24.1 is intransitive.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
στρατοπεδεύομαι	M	M				ἐ-τοπεδευμένοι 2	
ἐκ-τοπεδεύομαι	–	–	–	+		ἐξε-τοπεδευμένοι 1	
σφάλλω	AM	AM[1]	+	+			ἔσφαλτο 1
ξυστρέφομαι	M	M*	+	+		ξυνεστραμμένον 1	
ταλαιπωρέω/ομαι	AM	–	–	–		τε-πωρημένος 2	
ταράσσομαι	P	P	–	–			ἐτετάρακτο 1
							τεταραγμένοις 1
τάσσω	AMP	AMP	+	+		τέταγμαι 3	ἐτέτακτο 1
						τεταγμένος 13	τεταγμένος 2
ἀντιτάσσομαι	–	M	+	+			ἀντιτετάχθαι 2
							ἀντιτεταγμένος 2
διατάσσω	A	AM	+	+			διετετάχατο 1
							διατεταγμένων 1
ἐπιτάσσω	AP	AMP	+	+			ἐπιτεταγμένος 2
ξυντάσσω	M	AMP	+	+			ξυντεταγμένοι 2
παρατάσσω	AM	AM	+	+			παρετέτακτο 1
							παρατεταγμένος 9
προστάσσω	–	AP	+	+			προσετέτακτο 2
							προστεταγμένος 2
τειχίζω	AMP	AMP	+	+			τετείχισμαι 2
							τετειχισμένα 1
ἀντεπιτειχίζω	–	–	+	+			-τετειχισμένων 1
ἀποτειχίζω	A	AP	+	+			-τετειχισμένος 4
ἀποτελέω	–	–	+	+			ἀπετετέλεστο 3
τέμνω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐτέτμητο 1
							τετμημένα 1
ξυντέμνω	–	A	+	+			ξυντέτμηται 1
τιμάω	AP	AMP	+/–	+			τετίμημαι 2
							τετιμημένα 1
τιμωρέω	AM	AM	+	+		τετιμωρημένοι 1	τετιμώρημαι 2
τιτρώσκω	P	A	+	+			τετρωμένος 1
κατατραυματίζω	A	A	+	+			-ισμένοι ἦσαν 1
τρέπομαι	M	M	+	+/–		τετράφθαι 1	
						τετραμμένος 13	
ἀποτρέπω	AMP	AM	+	+			ἀποτετραμμένοι 1
ἐπιτρέπω	A	AP	+	+			ἐπιτετραμμένοι 1
τρυχόω	P	–	+	+			τετρυχωμένος 2
τυγχάνω	A	A	+	–	τετύχηκε 1		
ὑστερέω	–	A	–	–	ὑστερήκει 1		
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	ἐπεφεύγει 1		
					πεφευγώς 2		
διαφεύγω	A	A	+	+	διαπεφευγέναι 2		
					διαπεφευγώς 3		
καταφεύγω	A	A	+	+	καταπεφευγώς 5		

[1] AS M = ἐσφάλην.

Thucydides	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
φθείρω	AP	AP	+	+			ἔφθαρμαι 2
							ἐφθαρμένος 4
διαφθείρω	AP	AP	+	+			διέφθαρμαι 3
							διεφθαρμένος 8
προδιαφθείρω	–	P	+	+			-διεφθαρμένου 1
φοβέομαι	M	M*	–	–		πεφόβημαι 8	
						πεφοβημένος 3	
φρύγω	–	–	+	+			πεφρυγμένας 1
φυράω	–	–	+	+			πεφυραμένα 1
φύομαι	–	–	+	–	πέφυκα 7		
χωρέω	A	A	+	+	κεχωρήκατε 1		
					κεχωρηκότας 1		
ἀναχωρέω	A	A	+	+	ἀνακεχώρηκα 1		
					ἀνακεχωρηκώς 2		
ἀποχωρέω	A	A	+	+	-κεχωρηκότας 1		
προχωρέω	A	A	+	+	προκεχώρηκα 4		
					προκεχωρηκώς 4		
ψηφίζεσθαι	M	MP	+	+		ἐψηφισμένος 2	ἐψηφισμένα 1
καταψηφίζω	–	–	+	+			κατεψηφισμένην 1
ὠφελέω	AP	AP	+	+			ὠφέλητο 1

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
καταγγέλλω	–	–	+	+	κατηγγέλκασι 1		
κατάγω	M	A	+	+	καταγηόχασι 1		
ἀγωνίζομαι	M	MP	+	+		ἠγωνισμένοι 1	ἠγώνισται?[1] 1
ἀδικέω	AP	AP	+	+	ἠδίκηκα 7		ἠδικῆσθαι 1
					ἠδικηκώς 12		ἠδικημένος 9
αἱρέω	AM	AMP	+	+			ᾑρημένος 3
ἀναιρέω	M	MP	+	+			ἀνῃρῆσθαι 2
ἀφαιρέω	AM	AMP	+	+		ἀφῃρημένους 1	ἀφῃρημένος 1
καθαιρέω	AP	AP	+	+			καθῄρηται 1
							καθῃρημένων 3
ὑφαιρέω	–	M	+	+		ὑφῄρημαι 3	
						ὑφῃρημένος 2	
αἰσθάνομαι	M	M	+/–	+/–		ᾔσθημαι 2	
αἰτέω	AM	M	+	+			ᾐτημένους 1
ἐξαιτέω	AM	M	+	+			ἐξῃτημένοι 1
ἀκούω	A	A	+/–	+/–	ἀκήκοα 16		
					ἀκηκοώς 4		
ἁλίσκομαι	P	P	+	–	ἑαλώκασι 1		
ἀναλίσκω/όω	AP	AP	+	+	ἀνήλωκα 5		ἀνήλωται 1
							ἀνηλωμένος 5

[1] ἠγώνισται F Thalheim² p. 346 l. 24 (subject ἡ δίκη?).

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀπαλλάττομαι	M	M*	+	–		ἀπηλλάχθαι 7	
						ἀπηλλαγμένος 3	
διαλλάττομαι	–	M*	+	+		διηλλαγμένος 2	
ἁμαρτάνω	A	A	+	–	ἡμάρτηκα 5		ἡμάρτημαι 3
					ἡμαρτηκώς 17		ἡμαρτημένων 5
ἐξαμαρτάνω	A	A	+	–	ἐξημάρτηκε 3		
					ἐξημαρτηκώς 6		
ἐξαμβλόω	–	–	+	+	ἐξήμβλωκε 1		
παραμελέω	–	–	–	+	παρημελήκασι 1		
ἀναγκάζω	AP	AP	+	+			ἠνάγκασμαι 3
							ἠναγκασμένοι 1
ἀξιόω	AP	AP	–	+			ἠξιωμένον 1
συναρμόττω	–	–	+	+		συνηρμόσθαι 1	
ὑπάρχω	A	A	–	–			ὑπηργμένων 1
ἀσεβέω	AP	A	+/–	+	ἠσέβηκα 2		ἠσεβημένα 2
					ἠσεβηκώς 3		
ἀτιμόω	–	AP	+	+			ἠτιμῶσθαι 1
ἀφανίζω	AP	AP	+	+			ἠφανισμέναι 1
ἀναβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἀναβεβηκέναι 1		
ἀποβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἀποβέβηκεν 1		
προβαίνω	–	–	+	+	προβεβηκότας 1		
συμβαίνω	–	A*	+/–	+/–	συμβέβηκεν 1		
					συμβεβηκός 1		
ἀποβάλλω	A	A	+	+/–	ἀποβεβληκέναι 7		
					ἀποβεβληκώς 3		
διαβάλλω	AP	AP	+	+			διαβέβλημαι 4
							διαβεβλημένος 3
ἐκβάλλω	A	A	+	+			ἐκβεβλημένῳ 1
συμβάλλω	AM	M	+	+		συμβεβλημένον 1	
βιῶναι	–	A	–	+/–	βεβίωκα 3		βεβιωμένων 1
					βεβιωκώς 2		
βοηθέω	A	A	+	+	βεβοηθηκέναι 1		
βουλεύω	A	A	–	+	βεβουλευκώς 1		
βουλεύομαι	M	M	+	+		βεβουλεῦσθαι 1	
ἐπιβουλεύω	AP	AP	+	+	ἐπιβεβουλευκώς 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	γέγονα 20	γεγένημαι 47	
					γεγονώς 12	γεγενημένος 74	
παραγίγνομαι	–	M	+	–		-γεγενημένος 2	
συγγίγνομαι	–	M	+	–	συγγεγόνασι 1		
γιγνώσκω	AP	A*	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 4		ἐγνωσμένα 1
					ἐγνωκότες 1		
ἀπογιγνώσκω	–	A	+/–	+/–	ἀπεγνωκότες 1		

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
γράφω	AM	AMP	+	+			γέγραπται 1
							γεγραμμένος 5
ἀπογράφω	AM	AMP	+	+	ἀπογεγράφασι 1		
ἐγγράφω	A	A	+	+			ἐγγέγραμμαι 3
							ἐγγεγραμμένος 1
ἐπιγράφω	M	M	+	+			ἐπιγέγραπται 1
							ἐπιγεγραμμένου 1
προσγράφω	–	MP	+	+			προσγέγραμμαι 2
δανείζω	A	AM	+	+			δεδανεισμένας 1
προσδανείζω	–	M	+	+			προσδεδανεῖσθαι 1
δαπανάω	AM	–	+	+	δεδαπάνηκα 2		δεδαπάνηται 1
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 10		
					δεδιώς 14		
					δεδοικότες 1		
ἀποδείκνυμι	AM	A	+	+		ἀποδεδειγμένος 1	ἀποδέδειγμαι 5
ἐνδείκνυμι	–	P	+	+			ἐνδέδεικται 1
ἐπιδείκνυμι	AM	AM	+	+			ἐπιδέδεικται 1
δεκάζω	–	–	+	+			δεδεκασμένοι 1
δέομαι	M	M	+/–	+/–		δεδεῆσθαι 1	
δέω	A	AP	+	+			δέδεμαι 5
							δεδεμένος 3
δημεύω	AP	AP	+	+			δεδημεῦσθαι 1
							δεδημευμένων 1
ἐπιδημέω	A	A	–	+	ἐπιδεδημηκέναι 1		
					ἐπιδεδημηκώς 1		
δίδωμι	AP	AP	+	+	δέδωκα 9		δέδοται 1
					δεδωκώς 7		δεδομένος 2
ἀποδίδωμι	A	AMP	+	+	ἀποδέδωκα 2		ἀποδέδοται 2
					ἀποδεδωκώς 1		
ἐκδίδωμι	AP	A	+	+			ἐκδεδομένα 1
παραδίδωμι	AP	AP	+	+	παραδέδωκεν 1		
προδίδωμι	AP	A	+	+	προδεδωκώς 2		
δικάζω	AM	AM	+	+		δεδίκασμαι 2	
δοκέω	A	A	–	–		δεδόχθαι 1	
δοκιμάζω	AP	AP	+	+			δεδοκίμασαι 1
							δεδοκιμασμένος 2
καταδουλόω	P	M	+	+			-δεδουλωμένος 2
δύομαι	–	–	+	+/–	δεδυκότος 1		
ἀποδύω	M	M	+	+			ἀποδεδύσθαι 1
ἐκδύω	–	–	+	+			ἐκδεδύσθαι 1
δυστυχέω	A	AP	–	–	δεδυστυχήκασιν 1		
δωροδοκέω	A	–	+	+	δεδωροδοκηκότα 1		
ἐθίζω	M	–	+	+		εἴθισμαι 4	
						εἰθισμένος 6	
συνεθίζω	–	–	+	+		συνειθισμένον 1	
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἴωθα 2		
					εἰωθόσι 1		
ἐξελέγχω	AP	AP	+	+			ἐξεληλεγμένοι 1

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἀμφιέννυμαι	–	–	+	+		ἠμφιεσμένη 1	
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικεν 1		
ἐπιτηδεύω	A	A	–	+			ἐπιτετήδευται 1
ἐπιτροπεύω	–	A	–	+			-τετροπευμένους 1
ἐργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		εἴργασμαι 3	εἴργασμαι 2
						εἰργασμένος 17	
ἐξεργάζομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐξείργασται 1
κατεργάζομαι	–	M	+	+			κατειργασμένοις 1
ἐρημόω	–	–	+	+			ἠρημωμένην 1
ἔρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐλήλυθα 2		
εἰσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	εἰσελήλυθα 2		
					εἰσεληλυθότος 1		
ἐξέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	ἐξεληλυθυίας 1		
κατέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	κατεληλύθατε 1		
					κατεληλυθόσιν 1		
παρέρχομαι	–	A	+	+	παρελήλυθεν 1		
					παρεληλυθώς 9		
προσέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	προσελήλυθα 2		
ἑταιρέω	–	–	–	+	ἡταιρήκασιν 1		
εὑρίσκω	AM	AM	+	+/–	ηὑρηκέναι 1		
					εὑρηκότος 1		
ζηλόω	AP	–	–	+	ἐζηλωκώς 1		
ἡττάομαι	MP	P	+/–	–			ἡττῆσθαι 1
							ἡττημένων 1
θνήσκω	–	–	+	–	τέθνηκα 10		
					τεθνηκώς 1		
					τεθνεώς 17		
ἐνθυμέομαι	M	M	+	+/–		ἐνετεθύμητο 1	
ἀφίημι	A	AMP	+	+			ἀφειμένους 1
προίημι	–	M	+	+		προεῖνται 1	
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–		ἀφῖχται 3	
						ἀφιγμένος 4	
ἱππεύω	A	A	+	+	ἱππευκώς 2		
ἵσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	ἕστηκεν 2		
					ἑστηκότα 1		
ἀφίσταμαι	M	–	+	+	ἀφεστῶτα 1		
ἐγκαθίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ἐγκαθεστᾶσιν 1		
ἐφίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	ἐφεστηκότων 1		
καθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+/–	καθέστηκα 10		
					καθεστηκώς 5		
παρίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	παρέστηκα 2		
περιίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	περιέστηκα 3		
					περιεστηκώς 3		
					περιεστῶτος 1		
προίσταμαι	–	M*	+	+	προεστηκότας 1		
συνίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	συνεστάναι 1		
καλέω	AP	A	+/–	+			κεκλῆσθαι 1
							κεκλημένον 1

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
κατηγορέω	AP	A	+	+	κατηγόρηκα 4		κατηγόρηται 2
							κατηγορημένος 8
κελεύω	A	AP	+	+	κεκελευκότες 1		
ἐκκηρύττω	AP	P	+	+			ἐκκεκηρυγμένος 2
κινδυνεύω	A	AP	+/–	+/–	κεκινδύνευκα 2		
					κεκινδυνευκώς 3		
προκινδυνεύω	–	–	+/–	+/–	προ-νευκότων 1		
κοινωνέω	A	–	+	+		κεκοινωνημένοι 1	
κολακεύω	–	–	–	+	κεκολάκευκεν 1		
κομίζω	M	AMP	+	+		κεκόμισμαι 2	
						κεκομισμένον 2	
ἐκκόπτω	A	A	+	+			ἐκκέκομμαι 2
περικόπτω	–	A	+	+	περικεκόφασι 1		
κράζω	–	–	–	+	κεκραγότα 1		
κρίνω	AP	AP	+	+	κεκρικότα 1		
κτάομαι	M	M	+	+		κέκτημαι 14	
						κεκτημένος 14	
ἀποκτείνω	A	A	+	+	ἀπέκτονα 11		
					ἀπεκτονώς 1		
κωλύω	AP	A	+	+	κεκώλυκεν 1		
λαγχάνω	–	AP	+	–	εἰληχώς 1		
λαμβάνω	A	AMP	+	+	εἴληφα 11		εἰλημμένα 1
					εἰληφώς 5		
ἀντιλαμβάνω	–	–	+	+		ἀντειλῆφθαι 1	
ἀπολαμβάνω	A	AP	+	+	ἀπείληφα 4		
καταλαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	κατειληφότος 1		κατειλημμένων 1
παραλαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	παρειληφώς 1		
συλλαμβάνω	A	AP	+	+			συνειλῆφθαι 1
ἐπιλανθάνομαι	–	M	+	–		ἐπιλελῆσθαι 1	
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	AP	+	+	εἴρηκα 9		εἴρημαι 7
					εἰρηκώς 6		εἰρημένος 18
ἀπερῶ/ἀπεῖπον	–	A	+	+	ἀπειρηκώς 2		
διαλέγομαι	M	–	+	+		διειλέχθαι 1	διείλεκτο 1
καταλέγω	A	AP	+	+			κατειλέχθαι 1
							κατειλεγμένος 1
κατερῶ/-εῖπον	–	A	+	+	κατείρηκεν 1		
προείρηκα	–	–	+	+			προειρημένα 3
συλλέγω	M	M	+	+		συνείλεκται 1	
						συνειλεγμένος 2	
λείπω	M	–	+	+			λέλειπται 1
ἀπολείπομαι	M	–	+	–		ἀπολελειμμένου 1	
ἐκλείπω	–	A	+	+	ἐκλελοίπασιν 1		
ἐλλείπω	A	–	+	–			ἐλλέλειπται 1
καταλείπω	AM	AP	+	+	καταλελοιπέναι 1		καταλέλειμμαι 2
							καταλελειμμένος 1
παραλείπω	–	A	+	+	παραλέλοιπεν 1		παραλελεῖφθαι 1
							παραλελειμμένα 1
λῃτουργέω	A	A	+	+	λελῃτούργηκα 3		
					λελῃτουργηκόσι 1		

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
λογίζομαι	M	M	+	+			λελόγισμαι 3
μαρτυρέω	AM	A	+	+	μεμαρτύρηκα 5		μεμαρτύρηται 4
							μεμαρτυρημένων 1
μάχομαι	M	M	+	+		μεμαχημένος 1	
συμμείγνυμαι	–	–	+	+		συμμεμειγμένου 1	
μελετάω	–	–	+/–	+	μεμελέτηκας 1		
μηνύω	AP	AP	+	+			μεμηνυμένα 1
μηχανάομαι	M	–	+	+			μεμηχάνηται 1
μιμνήσκομαι	–	M*	–	–		μέμνημαι 17	
						μεμνημένοι 10	
μισθόω	M	AM	+	+	μεμίσθωκα 1	ἐμεμίσθωτο 1	
						μεμισθωμένος 3	
ναυμαχέω	A	–	+	+	νεναυμάχηκα 1		
					νεναυμαχηκώς 1		
νικάω	A	A	+/–	–	νενίκηκα 4		
					νενικηκώς 1		
ξενόομαι	–	–	+	+			ἐξενωμένος 1
ἀνοίγνυμι	A	A	+	+			ἀνεῳγμένος 2
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 119		
					εἰδώς 38		
πρόοιδα	–	–	–	–	πρόοιδα 2		
					προειδότων 1		
σύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	σύνοιδα 12		
					συνειδώς 13		
διοικέω	A	–	–	+	διῴκηκα 1		
οἰκοδομέω	–	A	+	+			ᾠκοδομημένων 1
ἀπόλλυμι	A	A	+	+/–	ἀπολωλέκασι 1		
					ἀπολωλεκώς 4		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπολωλέναι 4		
					ἀπολωλώς 2		
προσαπόλλυμαι	–	–	+	–	προσαπολωλέναι 1		
ὄμνυμι	A	A	+	+	ὀμώμοκα 5		
					ὀμωμοκότας 1		
ὁμολογέω	AP	AP	+	+	ὡμολόγηκεν 1		ὡμολόγητο 1
							ὡμολογημένων 1
ὀνειδίζω	A	–	+	+	ὠνειδικότος 1		
παροξύνω	–	–	+	+			παρωξυμμένος 1
ὁπλίζω	–	A	+	+		ὡπλισμέναι 1	
ὁράω	AP	AP	+/–	+/–	ἑώρακα 2		
					ἑωρακώς 3		
διορίζω	–	–	+	+			διωρισμένον 1
ὀρχέομαι	–	–	+	+		ὠρχῆσθαι 1	
ὀφλισκάνω	–	+	+	–	ὠφλήκοι 1		
διοχλέω	–	–	+	+	διώχληκε 1		
πάσχω	A	A	+	–	πέπονθα 10		
					πεπονθώς 20		
παύομαι	M	M	+	+		πέπαυμαι 2	
						πεπαυμένοι 1	

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πείθω	A	AP	+	+	πέπειχεν 1		πεπεισμένος 1
πειράομαι	M	–	+	+		πεπείραμαι 3	
						πεπειραμένος 2	
πιπράσκω	P	P	+	+			πεπρᾶσθαι 1
							πεπραμένα 1
ἐκπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐκπεπτωκώς 4		
μεταπίπτω	–	A	+	–	μετεπεπτώκει 1		
περιπίπτω	–	A	+	–	περιπέπτωκα 1		
					περιπεπτωκώς 2		
πιστεύω	A	AP	–	+	πεπίστευκεν 1		πεπιστευμένους 1
ἐκπλήττω	–	P	+	–			ἐκπεπληγμένοι 1
ποιέω	AM	AMP	+	+	πεποίηκα 21	πεποιημένους 1	πεποιῆσθαι 2
					πεποιηκώς 15		πεποιημένος 5
πολιτεύομαι	M	M*	–	+		πεπολιτευμένοι 1	πεπολιτεῦσθαι 1
πορίζομαι	–	M	+	+		πεπόρισται 1	
πράττω	AMP	AMP	+	+			πέπρακται 3
							πεπραγμένον 36
διαπράττομαι	M	M	+	+		διαπέπρακται 1	διαπεπραγμένων 1
πυνθάνομαι	M	M	+	+/–		πεπυσμένος 2	
ῥίπτω	–	A	+	+	ἐρριφέναι 1		
ῥώννυμαι	–	–	–	–		ἔρρωτο 1	
						ἐρρωμένῳ 1	
σημαίνω	–	–	+	+			σεσημασμένα 1
κατασκεδάννυμι	–	–	+	+			κατεσκέδασται 1
σκευάζω	–	–	+	+		ἐσκευασμένος 1	
κατασκευάζω	M	–	+	+		-εσκευασμένους 1	-εσκευασμένην 1
παρασκευάζω	AM	AMP	+	+		-εσκευασμένος 3	παρεσκεύαστο 1
							-εσκευασμένος 4
διασπείρω	–	–	+	+			διέσπαρται 1
στερέω	–	P	+	+			ἐστέρημαι 3
							ἐστερημένος 3
ἀποστερέω	AMP	AP	+	+			ἀπεστέρημαι 2
							ἀπεστερημένος 6
στεφανόω	–	AP	+	+			ἐστεφανωμένον 1
στρατεύω/ομαι	M	AM	+	+		ἐστράτευται 1	
						ἐστρατευμένος 2	
στρατηγέω	A	A	–	+	ἐστρατήγηκε 1		
σχηματίζομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐσχηματισμένοι 1	
σῴζω	AMP	AP	+/–	+			σεσῶσθαι 1
							σεσωσμένους 1
τάττω	A	AMP	+	+			τετάχθαι 2
							τεταγμένος 4
προστάττω	AP	AP	+	+			προστέτακται 1
							προστεταγμένα 1
τελευτάω	A	A	+	+/–	τετελευτηκώς 4		
διατελέω	A	A	–	+	διατετέλεκα 1		
συντελέω	–	–	+	+			συντετελεσμένου 1
κατατίθημι	A	AM	+	+	κατατεθηκότων 1		

Lysias	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
τιμάω	AP	AM	+/−	+	τετίμηκε 2		τετίμηνται 1
τιμωρέω	AM	AM	+	+	τετιμωρηκότες 1	τετιμωρῆσθαι? 1 τετιμωρημένος 1	τετιμωρημένος 1
ἐκτίνω	A	A	+	+	ἐκτετεικέναι 1		
τιτρώσκω	−	A	+	+			τετρωμένος 1
τολμάω	A	A	+/−	+	τετόλμηκε 1		
τριηραρχέω	A	A	−	+	τετριηράρχηκα 2		
τρυφάω	−	−	−	+	τετρυφηκέναι 1		
τυγχάνω	A	A	+	−	τετύχηκε 1		
ὑβρίζω	AP	AP	+	+			ὑβρισμένος 3
ἀποφαίνω	AM	AMP	+	−			ἀποπεφασμένον 1
διαφέρω εἰσφέρω προσφέρω	AM A A	AM[1] AP M*	+ + +	− + +	διενήνοχεν[1] 1 εἰσενήνοχα 5 εἰσενηνοχόσι 1	 προσενήνεκται 1	 εἰσενήνεκται 1
φεύγω ἀποφεύγω	A A	A A	+ +	+ +	πεφευγέναι 1 ἀποπεφεύγασι 1		
διαφθείρω	AP	AP	+	+	διέφθαρκεν 1		διέφθαρμαι 2 διεφθαρμένοι 1
φορινόομαι	−	−	+	−		πε-ινῶσθαι?[2] 1	
καταφρονέω	A	A	−	+	καταπεφρόνηκε 2		
φύομαι	−	M*	+	−	πέφυκα 3 πεφυκότα 1		
χαρίζομαι	M	M	+	+		κεχαρισμένα 1	
χειροτονέω	AP	AP	+	+			κε-τονημένους 1
χορηγέω	A	A	−	+	κεχορήγηκε 1		
χρήομαι	M	M	+	+/−		κέχρησθε[3] 1 κεχρημένος 5	
ψεύδομαι	M	MP	+	+		ἔψευσται 1	ἐψευσμένος 2
ψηφίζομαι καταψηφίζομαι	M M	MP MP	+ +	+ +		ἐψήφιστο 1 ἐψηφισμένοι 1 -εψηφισμένους 1	ἐψηφισμένα 1
ψιμυθιόομαι	−	−	+	+		ἐψιμυθιῶσθαι 2	
ὠνέομαι συνωνέομαι	M M	− −	+ +	+ +	ἐωνηκώς 1	ἐωνημένους 4 συνεωνημένος 1	ἐωνημένον 1
ὠφελέω	AP	AP	+	+			ὠφέλημαι 1

[1] AS M = διενεχθέντες; διενήνοχεν 24.13 is intransitive.
[2] For πεφορινῶσθαι see F 113 Thalheim.
[3] κέχρημαι is used with a dative complement in all instances.

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
εἰσαγγέλλω	–	–	+	+			εἰσηγγελμένοι 1
παραγγέλλω	AP	AP	+	+			παρηγγέλθαι 1
ἄγω	AMP	M	+	+			ἠγμέναι 1
ἀθροίζω	AP	P	+	+			ἤθροισται 1
διαιρέω	AM	A	+	+			διῄρηνται 1
							διῃρημέναι 1
ἀκούω	AP	A	+/–	+/–	ἀκηκόαμεν 1		
ἁλίσκομαι	P	P	+	–	ἑάλωκεν 1		
					ἑαλωκώς 3		
ἀπαλλάττομαι	M	M*	+	–		ἀπηλλαγμένοι 2	
ἐπαλλάττομαι	M	–	+	–		ἐπηλλαγμένος 3	
διαμαρτάνω	–	–	+	–	διημαρτηκώς 1		
ἀμελέω	AP	A	–	+			ἠμελημένην 1
ἀναγκάζω	AP	A	+	+			ἠνάγκασται 1
συναναγκάζω	–	–	+	+			-ηναγκασμένων 1
ἐξαπατάω	AP	A	+	+			ἐξηπατημένος 1
ὑφάπτω	–	–	+	+			ὑφημμένας 1
συναρμόττω	–	–	+	+			συνηρμοσμένον 1
ἀφαρπάζω	–	A	+	+			ἀφηρπασμένον 1
ἀρτάω	–	–	+	+			ἠρτημένος 2
ἀπαρτάομαι	M	–	+	–		ἀπήρτηται 1	
ἀσκέω	AP	A	+	+	ἠσκηκέναι 1		
					ἠσκηκώς 1		
ἐξασκέω	–	–	+	+			ἐξησκημένοι 1
ἀτιμόω	–	–	+	+			ἠτίμωμαι 4
αὔξω/άνω	AM	–	+	+	ηὐξηκέναι 1	ηὐξημένας 1	
ἀφανίζω	AM	–	+	+			ἠφανίσθαι 1
ἀναβαίνω	AP	A*	+	+	ἀναβεβηκώς 2		ἀναβεβαμένος 2
ἀποβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	ἀποβέβηκεν 1		
διαβαίνω	A	A*	+	+	διαβεβηκώς 1		
καταβαίνω	AP	A*	+	+	καταβεβηκόσι 1		
συμβαίνω	–	A*	+/–	+/–	συμβεβηκότες 1		
ἐκβάλλω	–	–	+	+			ἐκβεβλημένοι 1
καταβάλλω	–	A	+	+			καταβεβλημένου 1
βιάζεσθαι	M	P	+	+			βεβιασμένους 1
βιβρώσκω	–	–	+	+	βεβρωκώς 1		
βοηθέω	A	–	+	+	βεβοηθηκότας 1		
γίγνομαι	M	M	+	–	ἐγεγόνει 2	γεγένημαι 4	
						γεγενημένος 7	
διαγίγμομαι	–	M	+	–		διαγεγενημένη 1	
προγίγνομαι	–	–	+	–		προγεγενημένα 1	
γιγνώσκω	AP	A*P	+/–	+/–	ἔγνωκα 2		ἐγνῶσθαι 1
							ἐγνωσμένα 1
γράφω	AMP	AP	+	+			γέγραμμαι 6
							γεγραμμένος 2

* In these cases AS A or M stands for the aorist in -ην/-θην/-υν/-ων.

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἔδεισα/δέδοικα	–	A	–	–	δέδοικα 4		
ἀποδείκνυμι	A	AM	+	+			ἀποδέδεικται 1
ἐπιδείκνυμι	AM	AM	+	+			ἐπιδέδεικται 1
							ἐπιδεδειγμένα 1
δέω	–	A	+	+			δεδεμένος 2
συνδέω	–	P	+	+			συνδεδεμένα 1
ὑποδέομαι	–	–	+	+		ὑποδεδεμένον 1	
δηλόω	AP	A	+	+			δεδήλωται 1
διδάσκω	AP	A	+	+			δεδιδάχθω 1
							δεδιδαγμένοι 1
δίδωμι	A	A	+	+	δεδωκέναι 1		δέδομαι 4
ἐκδίδωμι	AP	A	+	+			ἐκδεδομένος 2
παραδραμεῖν	–	–	+	+	παραδεδράμηκε 1		
ἐγείρω	M	M*	+	+	ἐγρήγορα 2		
					ἐγρηγορός 1		
ἐθίζω	A	P	+	+			εἴθισμαι 2
							εἰθισμένος 6
εἴωθα	–	–	–	–	εἴωθα 2		
					εἰωθότα 1		
περιελαύνω	A	–	+	+	περιεληλακότες 1		
ἔοικα	–	–	–	–	ἔοικα 6		
					ἐοικός 2		
ἐπικουρέω	A	A	–	+			ἐπικεκουρῆσθαι 1
ἐργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		εἰργασμένος 3	εἰργάσθω 1
							εἰργασμένον 1
κατεργάζομαι	M	M	+	+		κατειργασμένος 1	
παρέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	παρε-λυθότων 1		
προδιέρχομαι	–	–	+	+	προδιελήλυθεν 1		
προέρχομαι	M	A	+	+	προεληλύθασι 1		
εὐεργετέω	AP	–	+	+	εὐεργετήκει 1		
εὑρίσκω	A	AMP	+	+/–			ηὕρηνται 1
							ηὑρημένον 1
ἐξευρίσκω	A	A	+	+/–	ἐξηύρηκε 1		
					ἐξηυρηκώς 1		
ἐφύω	–	–	–	–			ἐφυσμένος 1
μετέχω	A	A	–	–	μετεσχηκέναι 1		
ζητέω	A	–	+	+			ἐζήτηται 1
ἀναζωπυρέω	–	–	+	+			ἀνεζωπυρημένῳ 1
ἐξηγέομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐξήγημαι 1	
θνῄσκω	–	–	+	–	τεθναῖεν 1		
					τεθνεώς 2		
					τεθνηκώς 1		
θορυβέω	AP	–	+	+			τεθορυβημένον 1
συνθραύω	–	–	+	+			συντεθραυσμένα 1
διαθρύπτω	AP	–	+	+			διατεθρυμμένας 1
ἀφίημι	AP	AMP	+	+			ἀφεῖσθαι 1
ὑφίημι	M	–	+	+			ὑφείσθωσαν 1
ἀφικνέομαι	M	M	+	–		ἀφιγμένος 1	

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
ἵσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἕστηκα 3		
					ἑστώς 2		
					ἑστηκώς 4		
ἀφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἀφεστηκότων 1		
					διεστώς 2		
διίσταμαι	M	–	+	+	ἐφεστήκασιν 1		
ἐφίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	ἐφεστῶτι 1		
					ἐφεστηκότων 1		
καθίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	καθέστηκα 4		
προίσταμαι	–	–	+	+	προεστηκώς 2		
συνίσταμαι	M	M*	+	+	συνεστῶτα 1		
					συνεστηκότων 1		
καινουργέω	–	–	+	+	κε-ουργηκότας 1		
καλλιερέω	–	AP	+	–	κε-ιερηκότες 1		
καλλωπίζω	M	–	–	+			κε-ωπισμένην 1
συγκάμπτω	M	–	+	+			συγκεκαμμένῳ 1
κεράννυμι	–	–	+	+		κεκραμένον 1	κεκραμένη 1
συγκεράννυμαι	–	–	+	+		συγκέκραται 1	
κινέω	A	P	+	+			κεκινημένος 3
μετακινέω	AM	–	+	+		μετακεκινημένας 1	
κλάζω	–	–	–	+	κεκλαγγυῖαι 1		
προσκλάομαι	–	–	+	+			-κεκλασμένος 1
κλίνομαι	–	–	–	–		κέκλινται 1	
ἐγκλίνομαι	–	A	–	–		ἐγκεκλιμένα 1	
συγκομίζω	P	–	+	+			συγκεκόμισται 1
κοσμέω	AM	A	+	+			κεκοσμῆσθαι 1
κατακοσμέομαι	–	–	+	+		κατακεκοσμένος 1	
κατακρίνω	–	–	+	+			κατακεκριμένος 1
ἀποκρύπτω	A	M	+	+			ἀποκεκρυμμένος 2
κτάομαι	M	MP	+	+		κέκτημαι 11	
						κεκτημένος 6	
ἐγκτάομαι	–	–	+	+		ἐγκεκτῆσθαι 1	
ἀποκτείνω	A	A	+	+	ἀπεκτονέναι 2		
					ἀπεκτονότας 1		
ἀνακύπτω	–	–	+	+	ἀνακεκυφώς 1		
λαμβάνω	A	AMP	+	+			εἰλῆφθαι 1
προλαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	προειληφυῖαι 1		
προσλαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	προσειληφότας 1		
ὑπολαμβάνω	A	A	+	+	ὑπειλήφασι 1		
λανθάνω	A	A	–	–	λέληθα 4		
ἐρῶ/εἶπον	–	A	+	+	εἴρηκα 4		εἴρηται 11
							εἰρημένος 4
ἀπολέγω	–	–	+	+			ἀπειλεγμένους 1
ἀπερῶ/-εἶπον	–	A	+	+	ἀπειρηκώς 2		
προερῶ/-εἶπον	–	AP	+	+			προειρημένων 1
καταλείπω	AM	A	+	+			καταλελειμμένα 1
παραλείπω	AM	AP	+	+			παραλελειμμένα 1

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
λύω	AP	A	+	+			λελύσθαι 1
διαλύω	A	A	+	+			διαλέλυται 1
ἐκλύω	A	–	+	+			ἐκλελύσθαι 1
καταλύω	AP	A	+	+	καταλέλυκεν 1		
μανθάνω	A	A	+	+/–	μεμαθηκότος 1		
καταμανθάνω	A	A	+	+/–	κατα-θηκέναι 1		
μελετάω	A	A	+/–	+	μεμελετηκώς 2		
προμελετάω	–	–	–	+	προμε-τηκότες 1		
μέλω	A	–	–	–	μεμέληκα 2		
μηχανάομαι	M	M	+	+		μεμηχανημένος 1	
μιμνήσκομαι	–	P	–	–		μεμνῆσθαι 3	
						μεμνημένων 1	
νικάω	AP	A	+/–	–	ἐνενικήκει 1		
					νενικηκότας 1		
κατανοέω	A	A	–	–	κατανενόηκας 1		
					κατανενοηκώς 1		
οἶδα	–	–	–	–	οἶδα 66		
					εἰδώς 21		
πρόοιδα	–	–	–	–	προειδώς 1		
σύνοιδα	–	–	–	–	συνειδυῖαι 1		
ἀπόλλυμαι	M	M	+	–	ἀπολωλέναι 1		
					ἀπολωλώς 2		
ὁπλίζω	AM	AP	+	+		ὡπλίσθαι 1	
						ὡπλισμένος 4	
ὁράω	AP	AP	+/–	+/–	ἑώρακα 3		
διορίζω	–	–	+	+			διωρισμένους 1
κατορύττω	A	–	+	+			-ορωρυγμένους 1
παιδεύω	AP	A	+	+	πεπαιδευκέναι 1		πεπαιδευμένος 3
πάομαι	–	–	?	?		πεπαμένους 1	
πάσχω	A	A	+/–	–	πεπονθέναι 2		
					πεπονθότες 1		
πειράομαι	M	M*	+	+		πεπειραμένος 2	
περάω	A	–	+	+	πεπερακόσιν 1		
ἀναπετάννυμαι	–	–	+	+		ἀναπέπταται 1	
						ἀναπεπταμένοι 1	
πίπτω	A	A	+	–	πεπτωκότος 1		
ἀναπίπτω	A	–	+	–	ἀναπεπτωκότας 1		
ἐμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	ἐμπεπτωκότος 1		
παραπίπτω	A	A	+	–	παρα-πτωκέναι 1		
συμπίπτω	A	A	+	–	συμπεπτωκότων 1		
πλέκω	–	–	+	+			πεπλεγμένος 2
ἐγκαταπλέκω	–	–	+	+			-πεπλεγμένους 1
συμπλέκω	–	–	+	+		συμπεπλεγμένα 1	
καταπλήττω	–	–	+	+			-πεπληγμένης 1
ποιέω	AMP	AM	+	+	πεποίηκεν 1	πεποίηνται 1	πεποιῆσθαι 2
							πεποιημένα 1
πονέω	A	A	–	+	πεπονηκώς 2		
πραγματεύομαι	M	–	+	+			πε-ματευμένον 1

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
πράττω	AMP	AP	+	+			πεπραγμένων 1
ἀναπτύσσω	AM	–	+	+			ἀνεπτυγμένα 1
ῥάπτω	–	–	+	+			ἐρράφθαι 1
ἐγκαταρράπτω	–	–	+	+			-ερραμμένας 1
ῥώννυμαι	–	–	–	–		ἔρρωνται 1	
						ἐρρωμένον 2	
σημαίνω	AP	AMP	+	+			σεσημασμένα 1
σχεδάννυμαι	M	–	+	–		ἐσχεδασμένη 1	
κατασκευάζω	AMP	AP	+	+		κατεσκευάσθαι 1	κατεσκεύασμαι 2
						-εσκευασμένος 3	-εσκευασμένος 3
παρασκευάζω	AM	AM	+	+		παρεσκευάσθαι 1	-εσκευασμένος 5
						-εσκευασμένος 5	
συσκευάζομαι	M	–	+	+		συνεσκευασμένοι 1	
σπείρω	AP	–	+	+			ἐσπαρμένους 1
σπουδάζω	AP	A	–	+	ἐσπουδακότας 1		
ἀποσταυρόω	–	–	+	+			ἀπεσταυρωμένα 1
προσστέλλω	–	–	+	+			προσεσταλμένα 1
ἀποστερέω	AP	–	+	+			ἀπεστέρημαι 2
στεφανόω	AM	–	+	+		ἐστεφανωμένους 1	
ἀναστρέφω	AM	A	+	+		ἀνέστραπται 1	ἀνεστραμμένην 1
σφαιρόω	–	–	+	+			ἐσφαιρωμένα 1
ταράττω	AP	P	+	+			τεταράχθαι 1
τάττω	AP	AMP	+	+			τέταγμαι 3
							τεταγμένος 4
ἀντιτάττω	–	M	+	+			ἀντιτεταγμένους 3
παρατάττω	–	AM	+	+		παρατεταγμένος 1	
προστάττω	AP	AP	+	+			προστέταγμαι 4
							προστεταγμένων 1
συντάττω	AM	–	+	+			συντεταγμένος 3
ἀποταφρεύω	–	–	+	+			-τεταφρευμένα 1
ἐπιτείνω	–	AM[1]	+	+		ἐπιτεταμένους 1	
ἐντειχίζω	–	–	+	+			ἐνετετείχιστο 1
ἀποτελέω	AP	AM	+	+			ἀποτετελεσμένον 1
τελευτάω	A	A	+	+/–	τετελευτηκώς 3		
κατατέμνω	–	–	+	+			κατατετμημένοις 1
τίκτω	A	A	+	–	τέτοκε 1		
τιμάω	AP	AP	+/–	+			τετιμῆσθαι 1
προτιμάω	A	–	+/–	+	προτετιμήκασι 1		προτετιμῆσθαι 1
							προτετιμημένοις 1
τιτρώσκω	P	–	+	+			τετρωμένος 1
φεύγω	A	A	+	+	πεφευγότας 1		
διαφθείρω	AP	A	+	+			διεφθαρμένους 1
φοβέομαι	M	M*	–	–		πεφόβημαι 2	
						πεφοβημένος 1	
φύρω	–	–	+	+			πεφυρμένην 1

[1] AS M = ἐπιταθῆναι.

Xenophon	PS	AS	Ch	Co	Active	Middle	Passive
φυσάω	–	–	+	+			πεφυσημένοι 1
φύομαι	M	–	+	–	πέφυκα 10 πεφυκώς 2		
ἐμφύομαι	M	M*	+	–	ἐμπεφυκός 1		
ἀποχαλκεύω	–	–	+	+			-κεχαλκευμένους 1
χέω	–	–	+	+			κεχυμένοι 1
χρίομαι	M	–	+	+		κεχριμένῳ 1	

INDEX OF PERFECT FORMS

This index contains a list of all passages where the perfect forms cited in the tables above are attested.

In the case of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Xenophon *Opuscula* the material has been collected from the text. Here textcritical matters have been taken into account: passages in parentheses, e.g. (Ag. 30), involve variant readings; the reading of the text used is given in the index and the *varia lectio* is added in parentheses; passages between square brackets, e.g. [Suppl. 950], involve either deletions by the editor or conjectures ('conj.'); in the last case the reading of the text used is given in the index and the reading of the MSS. is added in parentheses. In this part of the material, too, the gender of the participle has been specified by means of the abbreviations f. = feminine, m. = masculine, nt. = neuter, a. = accusative, n. = nominative.

In the case of Thucydides the material was collected on the basis of the *Index Thucydideus* ed. M.H.N. von Essen (Berlin 1887; reprinted Darmstadt 1964). In the case of Lysias the material was collected on the basis of an index of the Lysias material on the CD ROM#D of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, University of California, Irvine, produced, through the courtesy of Frans A.J. de Haas, by the search-program *View & Find*, developed by B. Meißner (Halle). Textcritical matters have not been taken into account in a systematic manner here.

Information about the texts used, is given under the various authors.

The abbreviations used for the various plays and works are transparent in themselves.

Aeschylus

Text: for the plays the Oxford-text of D.L. Page (*Aeschyli Septem quae supersunt Tragoediae*, Oxford 1972); for the fragments (F) Vol. 3 *Aeschylus* of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. S.L. Radt (Göttingen 1985). The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Index Aeschyleus*, ed. G.Italie (revised by S.L. Radt, Leiden 1964).

ἠγγελμένοις (nt.) Cho. 774.
προσηγμένον (nt.n.) Suppl. 441.
ἤθροιστ(ο) Pers. 414.
ᾑρήκασιν Ag. 267.
    ᾑρημένη Ag. 1209.
ἀκήκοας Prom. 740.
    ἀκήκοεν Prom. 823.
ἑάλωκεν (Ag. 30) (πέπτωκεν).
διήλλαχθε Sept. 883-4.
παρημελήμεθα Sept. 702.
    παρημελημένον (m.) Eum. 300.
ἠμπλάκηται Suppl. 916.
ἀπήνθισται F 415a.
ἠνθρακωμένος Prom. 373.
ἄνωγας Eum. 902.
    ἄνωγε(ν) Cho. 735. Prom. 947. 1037.
    ἄνωχθ(ι) Cho. 772.
ἠξιωμένα (nt.n.) Suppl. 490.
ἄραρεν Prom. 60.
ἐξηρτυμένοι (Prom. 711) (ἐξηρτημένοι).
    κατηρτυκώς Eum. 473.
ἠσκημένη Pers. 182.

ἀπητιμασμένη Eum. 95.
ἠφευμένος F 310,1.
βέβηκεν Ag. 37.
βέβακεν Ag. 425.
βεβᾶσι(ν) Pers. 1002. 1003.
βεβ.κ.σ F 451c,3.
βεβάκει Ag. 407.
ἐσβέβηκα Suppl. 471.
ἐμβεβληκότα (m.) Sept. 583.
προσβεβλημένοις F 185,2.
βεβρωμένας Ag. 1097.
βεβούλευται Suppl. 1016. Prom. 998.
γέγων(ε) Prom. 193. 784.
γεγευμένη F 243,2.
ἐγεγήθει (Prom. 157) (ἐπεγεγήθει).
γεγόναμεν Sept. 143.
γεγένηται Cho. 379.
ἔγνωκα Prom. 51.
γεγόμφωται Suppl. 440.
γέγραπται Suppl. 709.
γεγραμμένος Ag. 801.
γεγραμμένας Eum. 50.
γεγραμμένοις (nt.) Suppl. 991.
ἐγγεγραμμένα (nt.n.) Suppl. 946.
γεγυμνάκασιν Prom. 586.
δεδηγμένον (m.) Cho. 995.
δεδηγμένοις (m.) Cho. 843.
δέδοικ(α) Pers. 751. Sept. 249. 764. Ag. 1533. F 47a,781. [99,20] (conj.) (δέδωκα). 288.
δέδια Prom. 182. 902.
δέδοικεν Eum. 390.
δεδοικὼς Eum. 699.
ὑπερδέδοικεν Sept. 292.
δέδορκα Sept. 103. F 46a,7.
δέδορκεν Pers. 1007. F296.
δεδορκὼς Ag. 1179. Prom. 679.
δεδορκός (nt.a.) Suppl. 409.
δεδορκότων (m.) Sept. 53.
δεδορκόσιν (m.) Eum. 322.
δέδορκ F 47b,3.
προ|σ|δέδορκ . | F 36b.3,7.
δέδεγμαι Eum. 894.
δέδεκται Cho. 336-337.
δεδεγμένη Cho. 750. Eum. 632.
δέδωκ(α) Prom. 446.
δέδοται Suppl. 1041.
δεδόκηκεν Eum. 309.
δέδοκται Suppl. 601.
ἐνδεδυμένος F 473.
δεδωμάτωμαι Suppl. 958.
ἐγρηγορός (nt.n.) Ag. 346. Eum. 706.
προσηδάφισται Sept. 496.
ἐξῃκασμένον (m.) Sept. 445.
ἐξῃκασμένα (nt.a.) Ag. 1244.
ἐληλαμέναι Pers. 871.
ἔολπα F 204b,10 ([.]ολ[. .] ω).
ἠμπποληκότα (m.) Eum. 631.
ἔοικ(α) Suppl. 909. Ag. 1161. Cho. 926. Prom. 1007.
ἔοικας Cho. 922. Eum. 900. Prom. 971. 984.
ἔοικε(ν) Pers. 743. Sept. 545. Ag. 1062. 1083. 1093. 1180. Cho. 730. 883. F 23,1.
ἔοιγμεν [Suppl. 950] (conj.) (ἴσθι μὲν τάδ').
εἰκὼς Suppl. 283. Cho. 560.
εἰκότα (nt.a.) Ag. 760.
ἐπεικότα (nt.n.) Cho. 669.
εἴργασται Ag. 354. F 311,2.
εἰργάσθαι Ag. 1346.
εἰργασμένος Prom. 242.
ἐξειργασμένον (nt.n.) Pers. 759.
ἐξειργασμένοις (nt.) Pers. 525. Ag. 1379.
κατείργασται Ag. 526.
ἐλήλυθεν Prom. 943.
ηὕρηκ(α) F 181a,4.
ηὑρῆσθαι Pers. 743.
ἐνέζευγμαι (Prom. 108) (ὑπέζευγμαι, ἐπέζευγμαι).
ἐφήλωται [Suppl. 944] (conj.) (τῶνδε φιλωταί).
ἡμερωμένην Eum. 14.
τεθαλὼς [Suppl. 107] (conj.) (τὸ θάλως, τὸ θάλος).
τέθαλπται Prom. 650.
τεθάφθαι Cho. 366.
προυτεθεσπίκει Prom. 211.
τεθηγμένος [Suppl. 186] (conj.) (τεθειμένος).
τεθηγμένον (m.) Sept. 715.
τεθηγμένους Prom. 311.
τέθνηκας Cho. 504. 893.
τέθνηκε(ν) Pers. 296. Sept. 1011. F 186.
τεθνᾶσιν Pers. 444. Sept. 805.
τεθνάναι Ag. 539. F 453.
τεθνηκὼς Ag. 869 (ἦν). Cho. 1043.
τεθνεῶτ(α) Cho. 682.
τεθνηκότος (m.) Ag. 630. Cho. 763. F 138,1.
τεθνηκότας Cho. 886.
τεθνηκόσιν (m.) Sept. 684. Ag. 568. F 154a,7.
τεθυμένῳ (m.) Eum. 328. (341) (τῷ τότε θυμουμένῳ, τῷ τε θυμουμένῳ).
ἱδρῦσθαι Pers. 231.
ἱδρυμένας Suppl. 413.
ἀφιερώμεθα Eum. 451.
καθιερωμένος Eum. 304.

ἀνεῖται Sept. 413. F 273a,13.
μεθεῖται Sept. 79.
παρειμένον (nt.a.) Prom. 819.
ἀφῖξαι Prom. 303.
ἕστηκα Ag. 1379.
ἑστακε Sept. 956.
ἕστηκε(ν) Ag. 1057. Prom. 349.
ἑστῶτες Pers. 686.
μεθέστηκε Pers. 158.
παρέστακεν Sept. 705.
παρεστώς Eum. 65.
παρεστώτων (nt.) Ag. 1053. Prom. 216.
κεκασμένον (nt.a.) Eum. 766.
κέκληται Suppl. 261.
κεκλήμεθα Eum. 417.
κέκληνται Pers. 242. Sept. 928. Cho. 321.
κεκλημένη Eum. 658.
κεκλημένον (nt.a.) Cho. 1037.
κεκλημένῳ (m.) Ag. 161.
κεκμηκότων (m.) Suppl. 158.
ἐκκεκενωμένα (f.) [Pers. 549] (conj.) (ἐκκε-νουμένα).
κεκραμένη Prom. 116.
συγκεκραμένα (nt.n.) Cho. 744.
κέκευθεν Pers. 649. Cho. 687.
κεκευθώς Sept. 588.
κέκλαγγεν Cho. 535.
κεκλαυμένα (f.) Cho. 457.
κεκλαυμένην Cho. 731.
κεκλαυμένου (m.) Cho. 687.
κεκλῃμένην Suppl. 956.
κέκλιται Pers. 930.
κεκόλληται Ag. 1566.
κέκοπται Pers. 683.
κεκομμένος Ag. 479.
κέκραγα F281(d),5.
κέκραγας Prom. 743.
κέκρανται Suppl. 943. Cho. 871.
κεκράτηκεν Pers. 149.
κεκρυμμένα (f.) Cho. 448.
κεκρυμμένα (nt.a.) Prom. 501.
κεκτημένη Ag. 1051.
ἐκτημέναι Prom. 795.
κεκτημένους Suppl. 337.
κεκτημένων F 389.
κατέκτονας Eum. 587.
κεκύρωται (Suppl. 603) (κεκύρτωται) Cho. 874.
εἴληχεν Sept. 376. 423.
εἰληχότα (m.) Sept. 451.
λελημμένης Ag. 876.
λέληνται F 451n,8.
λέλαχε Prom. 407. F 168b,2 (λέλᾱχ[).
λελεγμένου (m.) Sept. 424. 555.
λελεγμένων (nt.) Cho. 778. Eum. 675.
εἴρηκας Suppl. 246. Prom. 821.
εἴρηται Eum. 636. 710.
εἰρημένος Prom. 1031.
εἰρημένον (nt.a.) Ag. 1620.
εἰρημένους (Prom. 662) (ᾐνιγμένους).
εἰρημένων (nt.) Ag. 301. 1372.
λελειμμένον (m.) Ag. 517.
λελειμμένοι Prom. 857.
λελειμμένους F 37.
λελειμμένων (f.) Pers. 480.
ἐκλέλοιπεν Pers. 126 sq. ἐκλελο[ιπ F 451o,53,1
λελιμμένος (Sept. 355) (λελημμένοι, λελειμ-μένοι). 380.
ἐκλέλουμαι F 25a,1 (†ἐκλέλουμαι†).
λέλυται Pers. 592. 913.
μεμηνότ(α) (m.) Prom. 977.
μεμαργωμένοι Suppl. 758.
μέμεικται Sept. 940.
εἱμαρμένα (nt.a.) Ag. 913.
μέμονας (Sept. 686) (ἐκμέμονας, μέμηνας).
προσμεμηχανημένην Sept. 541.
προσμεμηχανημένον (nt.a.) Sept. 643.
μέμνημαι Ag. 830.
μέμνησαι Prom. 822.
μέμνησ(ο) Suppl. 202. Cho. 115. 491. 492. Eum. 88.
μέμνησθ(ε) Pers. 824. Prom. 522. 1071.
μεμνῆσθαι Pers. 287. Suppl. 205.
μεμνημένος Pers. 285. Cho. 681.
μεμνημένη Cho. 117.
ἐκμεμόχθηκεν Prom. 825.
μέμυκε Suppl. 352-3.
νενίκησθ(ε) Eum. 795.
κατεξενωμένον (m.) Cho. 706.
οἶδ(α) Pers. 341. 838. Suppl. 740. Ag. 611. 1358. 1668. Cho. 234. 523. 690. 1021. Eum. 222. 418. 827. Prom. 186. 504. 640. 915. F 199,2.
οἶσθα Pers. 479. Sept. 989. Suppl. 1056. Ag. 1297. Cho. 522. Eum. 85. Prom. 328. 607.
οἶδε(ν) Pers. 631. Sept. 617. Ag. 434. 478. 632. 1228. Cho. 570. Eum. 377. 933.
εἰδῇς [Cho. 439] (conj.) (δὲ τωστοστ-είδης).
εἰδῇ Prom. 824.
εἰδῶμεν Cho. 890.
εἰδῆτ(ε) [Cho. 1021] (conj.) (εἰ δὴ τούτ' ἄρ).
εἰδείην Suppl. 289.
ἴσθ(ι) Pers. 173. 337. 431. 435. Suppl. 434. 459. Ag. 512. 680. 932. 1302.

1616. 1670. Cho. 574. 794. Prom. 288. F 25e,4.
ἴστω Cho. 603.
ἴστ(ε) Pers. 211. 784.
εἰδέναι Ag. 1196. 1369. 1371. Cho. 690. F *182,2.
εἰδώς Sept. 68. 375. Suppl. 215. 323. 930. Ag. 838. 934. F 390. 390.
εἰδότα (m.) Suppl. 742.
εἰδότι (m.) Prom. 1040.
εἰδυῖαι Prom. 1076.
εἰδότας Ag. 1368. 1402. Cho. 201.
εἰδυίαισιν Prom. 441.
κάτοιδα Ag. 4.
κάτισμεν F 451p,59,18 (].ἀτισμεν).
κατειδώς Pers. 744.
σύνοιδα Cho. 217.
σύνοισθα Cho. 216.
ᾠνωμένον (nt.a.) [Suppl. 409] (conj.) (ὠνωμένων).
ᾤχωκεν Pers. 13.
ὄλωλε(ν) Pers. 255. 670. 1016. Sept. 604.
ὀλωλέναι Pers. 446.
ὀλωλότος (m.) Ag. 1367.
ὀλωλότας Ag. 672.
ὀλωλόθ(α) [Suppl. 918] (conj.) (τἀπολωλόθ').
ὀλωλότων (m.) Ag. 346.
ἀπολωλότας Suppl. 211.
διόλωλεν Pers. 590.
ὠμματωμένην Cho. 854.
ὀμώμοται Ag. 1284 (= [1291]).
ὠνομασμέναι F 312,1.
ὡπλισμένη Sept. 433.
ὄπωπα Eum. 57.
ὦπται Prom. 998.
κατώρθωσαι Cho. 512.
ὥρμηται F 476.
ὡρμημένος Cho. 941.
ὀρώρει Ag. 653.
ἀπωρφανισμένους Cho. 249.
οὐτασμένος Ag. 1344.
πέπαλται [Cho. 410] (conj.) (πεπάλατε, -ται).
πεπαλμένη Cho. 524.
πεπαμένῳ (m. [Ag. 835] (conj.) (πεπαμμένῳ).
πεπαμένη Cho. 191.
πεπασσαλευμένος [Prom. 113] (conj.) (πασσαλεύμενος, -ευμένος, πασσαλευτὸς).
πέπονθα Prom. 159.
πέπονθας Prom. 472.
πέπαυμαι Prom. 615.
πέπαυται Sept. 937.
πεπαυμέ[νοι F 451n,8.
πέποιθ(α) Sept. 37. 444. 521. Cho. 298. Eum. 598. 826. F 204b,6. 204b,15.
πέπισθι Eum. 599.
πεποιθέναι Pers. 601. Cho. 297. Prom. 225.
πεποιθώς Pers. 76 sq. Sept. 530. 672. Cho. 237. Eum. 439.
πεποιθότες Ag. 668.
πεπεισμένος Pers. 697. 804.
πέπεμπται Sept. 473.
πεπέρακεν Pers. 65.
πέπηγεν Cho. 67.
πέπωκεν (Sept. 813 (= [821]) (πέπτωκεν).
πεπωκώς Ag. 1188.
πεπραμένοι [Cho. 132] (conj.) (πεπραγμένοι).
πέπτωκεν Sept. 794. Eum. 147.
πεπτωκέναι Sept. 462. Cho. 263.
πεπτωκότι (m.) Ag. 1385.
πεπτωκότες Ag. 326.
πεπτωκότων (m.) Cho. 287.
πεπλάνημαι Prom. 565.
πεπλασμένος Prom. 1030.
πεπλεκτανημέναι Cho. 1049.
πέπληγμαι Pers. 1014-15. Ag. (1164) (πέπλημαι). 1343.
πέπληκται Suppl. 283.
πεπλήγμεθ(α) Pers. 1008. 1009.
πεπληγμένος Ag. 1203 (= [1204]). 1345. Cho. 884.
πεπληγμένην [F 210,2] (conj.) (πεπλεγμένην).
πεπληγμένου (m.) [Cho. 875] (conj.) (τελουμένου).
πεπληγμένοι Ag. [544] (conj.) (πεπληγμένος). 1660.
πεπλαγμένους Sept. 896.
πεπληγμένων (f.) Cho. 31.
ἐκπεπληγμένη Pers. 290.
ἐμπεποδισμένον (nt.n.) Prom. 550.
πεποίμανται Eum. 249.
πέπρωται [Eum. 125] (conj.) (πέπρακται). Prom. 512. 519. 815. F 199,3.
πεπρωμένον (nt.n.) Prom. 753.
πεπρωμένον (m.) F 362,4.
πεπρωμένην Prom. 103. 518.
πεπρωμένον (nt.a.) Ag. 68.
πεπρωμένου (nt.) Ag. 684.
πεπρωμένους Ag. 1657.
πεπόρθηται Ag. 278.
πεπορθῆσθαι Ag. 591.
διαπεπόρθηται Pers. 714.
πεπόταται Eum. 378.
ἐπὶ ... πεπόταται Pers. 669.
πέπρακται Ag. 551. Prom. 75.
πεπραγμένα (nt.a.) Pers. 801.
πεπραγμένων (nt.) Ag. 1185. Cho. 804.
πεπραγμένοις (nt.) Pers. 527.

διαπεπραγμένου (m.) Pers. 517.
διαπεπραγμένῳ (m.) Cho. 880.
διαπεπραγμένα (nt.n.) Pers. 260.
διαπεπραγμένοις (nt.) Cho. 739.
ἐπτοημένη Cho. 535.
ἐπτοημένοι Prom. 856.
πέπυσθε Cho. 526.
πεπυσμένη Ag. 261.
πεπυσμένοι Suppl. 185. Ag. 1098.
ἔρρανται Pers. 571.
ἔρρωγεν (Pers. 433) (ἔρρωται, ἔρρωγαι).
κατερρινημένους Suppl. 747.
ἐρρύθμισμαι Prom. 241.
σεσάλευται Prom. 1081.
σεσαγμένον (m.) Ag. 644.
κατεσβήκασιν (Ag. 888) (καθεστήκασιν).
παρεσκευασμένος Sept. 440. Cho. 1034.
παρεσκευασμένης Ag. 1422.
ἐσπανίσμεθ(α) Pers. 1024.
ὑπεσπανισμένη Cho. 577.
ὑπεσπανισμένους Pers. 489.
κατεσποδημένοι Sept. 809.
ἐσταλμένον (m.) Cho. 766.
ἐπέσταλται Sept. 1012. Ag. 908. Eum. 743.
τἀπεσταλμένα (nt.a.) Cho. 779.
ἐστερημένον (m.) Eum. 755.
ἐστ|εμμένος F 78c,39.
ἐστεμμένον (m.) Eum. 44.
ἐστεμμένην Suppl. 345.
ἐστομωμένας F 465,2 .
ἐξανέστραπται Pers. 812.
κατέστραμμαι (Ag. 956) (κατέσταμαι).
ἐσφραγισμένος Eum. 828.
κατεσφραγισμένα (nt.n.) Suppl. 947.
ἐσχημάτισται (Sept. 465) (ἐσημάτισται).
σέσωται Sept. 812 (= [820]).
σεσῶσθαι Pers. 737. F 453.
σεσωμένος Pers. 503. Ag. 618.
σεσωμένον (nt.a.) Pers. 1021.
σεσωμένης Sept. 274.
ξυντετάρακται Prom. 1088.
τέτακται Sept. 448. Eum. 639.
τεταγμένος Pers. 381. Sept. 570. Suppl. 504.
τεταγμένα (f.) Ag. 1025.
τεταγμένῳ (m.) Eum. 945.
προστεταγμένον (nt.n.) Eum. 208.
τετέλεσται Suppl. 18.
τετμημένος Cho. 198.
τέτρηται [Ag. 868] (conj.) (τέτρωται).
τέτυκται Ag. 751.
τετυγμένον (m.) Sept. 388.
διατετίμηται Sept. 1047.
τετρωμένους (Sept. 242) (τετραμμένους).
τετολμηκώς Prom. 331.
τετόξευται Eum. 676.
τετραυματισμένον (m.) Eum. 246.
τετραμμένου (nt.) Sept. 954.
τεθραμμένη Eum. 665.
τεθραμμέναι Sept. 792.
προστετριμμένον (m.) Eum. 238.
τετυμμένος Eum. 509.
τετυμμένοι Sept. 887. 889.
πέφηνε (Prom. 111) (πέφυκε).
πέφανται Ag. 373.
πεφασμένου (nt.) Prom. 843.
πέφευγ(ε) Sept. 793. Ag. 268.
πεφεύγασιν Pers. 478.
πεφευγότες Ag. 667.
ἐκπέφευγεν Eum. 752.
ἐφθαρμένων (m.) Pers. 272.
κατέφθαρται Pers. 251. 716. 729.
ἐξέφθινται Pers. 677. 927.
πέφρασμαι Suppl. 438.
πεφρασμένος F 438.
πέφρικα Sept. 720. [Suppl. 346] (conj.) (πέφυκα). Ag. 1243. Prom. 695.
διαπεφρούρηται F 265.
|π|εφυχί|ω|ται F 46a,13.
πεφυρμένον F 181a,2.
ἐμπεφυρμένοι [F 38,2] (conj.) (ἐμπεφυγμένοι, ἐκπεφυγμένοι).
πέφυκεν F 451r,7-8.
πεφύκαμεν Sept. 1031.
πεφυκέναι F 466,2.
κεχειρωμένας (Sept. 326) (κεχηρωμένος).
κεχυμένων (f.) Cho. 156.
κεχρηματίσθαι F 429 (†κεχρηματεῖσθαι†).
κεχρημένοι Pers. 829.
ὠφελημένος Prom. 222.

Sophocles

Text: for the plays the Teubner-text of R.D. Dawe (*Sophocles. Tragoediae* Vols. 1-2, Leipzig 1984-1985); for the fragments (F) Vol. 4 *Sophocles* of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. S.L. Radt (Göttingen 1977). The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Lexicon Sophocleum*, ed. F. Ellendt (Berlin [2]1872; reprinted Hildesheim 1965).

ἠγρίωσαι Phil. 1321.
ἀπηγριωμένον (m.) Phil. 226.
ἀνῆκτ(ο) F 557,7.
παρηγμένους Ant. 294.
ἠγωνι[σ]μέν[ο]ι F 210,50.
ἠδικηκότες Phil. 1035.
ἠρῆσθαι Ant. 493.
ἠρμένοι El. 54.
ἀκήκοας Aias 480. [Trach. 876] (del. Dover). Phil. 52. 588. 603. OC 896.
ἀκηκοώς Phil. 1240.
ἤλλακται F 314,121.
ἀπήλλαγμαι El. 783 (ἀπηλλάγην).
ἀπηλλάχθαι El. 1338. Ant. 400.
ἐνήλλακται Aias 208.
ἐπημαξευμένη Ant. 256.
ἡμαρτηκότες Ant. 926.
ἡμαρτημένα (nt.n.) OR 621.
ἡμαρτημένων (nt.) OR 439. 1269.
ἡμαρτημένοις (nt.) Trach. 1127.
ἐξημημένος Aias 1178.
ἀπημελημένον (nt.n.) Phil. 652.
ἀνηλόκισμαι F 369a
ἤνθηκεν Trach. 1089.
ἠνθισμένον (m.) El. 43.
κατηνθρακωμένον (nt.n.) El. 58.
ἄνωγα El. 1458. OC 904.
ἄνωγας Aias 1364. Trach. 1247. Phil. 54. 100.
ἄνωγεν OR 96.
ἠνώγει OC 1588.
ἠπάτηκας Phil. 929.
ἠπάτημαι Phil. 949.
ἠπατημένος OR 594.
ἠπατημένη Aias 807.
ἐπηπειλημένοι Ant. 408.
κατηπειλημένων (nt.) OC 1147.
ἧπται Trach. 1010.
ἐννημένοις F 177,2 (†...†).
καθημμέν[ο]ς F 314,225.
καθημμένην Ant. 1222.
κατηργυρωμένος Ant. 1077 (-μένως KV).
ἥρμοσται F 1130,8.
ἡρμοσμένα (nt.n.) Ant. 570 (ἦν).
ἠσκηκότες F 963.
ἠσκημένον (nt.a.) El. 452. 1217.
ἠσκημένα F 314,155.
ἠφάνισται Trach. 676.
ἠφάνιστο Ant. 255.
βέβηκα El. 1436.
βέβηκας El. 1151.
βέβηκε(ν) OR 1073. Trach. 41. 874. Ant. 246. 766. 1091. OC 81. 82. 613. 1678.
F 220a86+93,5 (βέ]βηκεν). F 221,10. 1131,3.
βέβακε(ν) Trach. 135. 529. OC 1052. 1684.
βεβήκαμεν OC 52.
βεβᾶσι(ν) El. 1386. Trach. 345. (F 210,47) (κἀμβεβᾶσι). 314,167.
βεβήκῃς El. 1057.
βεβήκῃ Phil. 494 .
βεβώς Trach. 165. 247 (ἦν). Ant. 996.
βεβηκώς OC 1359.
βεβηκότα (m.) OR 959.
βεβῶσαν El. 1095. OC 313.
βεβῶτος (m.) El. 311. OR 772.
βεβῶσας Phil. 280.
βεβώτων (m.) Phil. 277.
βεβῶσι (m.) Ant. 67.
βεβηκόσιν (m.) El. 979.
ἐκβέβηκεν Trach. 672.
ἐμβεβώς OR 803. F 672.
συμβέβηκεν El. 262. Trach. 1152.
βεβακχιωμένην F 959,1.
ἐκβεβληκότες Phil. 600.
ἐκβεβληκότων (m.) OC 646.
ἐκβεβλημένος Aias 1064.
ἐκβεβλημένη Aias 808.
ἐκβεβλημένον (m.) OC 1257.
δ]ιαβεβλημ[F 210,8.
ἐμβεβληκότα (m.) (OC 1392) (ἐκβεβληκότα).
συμβ[εβλη]μένα F 314,122.
βεβαρβαρωμένῳ (m.) Ant. 1002.
ἐκβεβιασμένον (nt.n.) Phil. 1129.
βέβρωκε Trach. 1054
βεβρῶτες Ant. 1022.
βεβουλευκώς OR 701.
βεβούλευμαι El. 947.
βεβούλευσαι OR 738.
βεβούλευνται El. 385.
βεβουλεῦσθαι OR 1367. Trach. 589.
βέβρυχα Trach. 1072.
γεγώνω (subj.) OC 213.
γέγωνε (imper.) Phil. 238.
γέγηθας Phil. 1021.
γεγηθώς El. 1432. OR 368.
γεγηθός (nt.n.) El. 1231.
γεγήρακε OC 727.
γεγώς Aias 472. 1289. 1299. El. 24. 775. OR 1168. 1181. 1393. Trach. 1064. 1129. Phil. 1284. OC 374. 571. 1132. 1316.
γεγῶτα (m.) Aias 1013.
ἔγνωκα Aias 807. OR 1115. 1117. Ant. 1095. OC 96. 553.
ἐγγεγραμμένην Trach. 157.
δεδαιμονισμένον F 170.

δέδια OC 1469.
δέδοικα Aias 278. 583. El. 1272. OR 767. 1074. Trach. 306. 630. 663. Ant. 1113. Phil. 493. 782. 1268.
δέδοικας Trach. 457. F 566,2.
δέδοικ[F 730g,49.
ὑπερδέδοικα Ant. 82.
δεδειγμένα F 432,7.
δέδορκα Aias 1. 359-60. El. 1466. F 774,1.
δέδορκας OC 894.
δέδορκ(ε) OR 389. F 12,2. 314,119.
δεδορκώς OR 413). Trach. 747.
δεδορκότα (m.) (El. 66) (δεδυκότ').
δεδορκότος (m.) OR 454.
δεδορκότα (nt.a.) Aias 85.
δέδεκται Ant. 894.
δεδεγμένοις (m.) OC 92.
διαδεδεγμένη (Trach. 30) (δεδεγμένον).
εἰσδέδεγμαι Trach. 376.
παρεισδέδεγμαι Trach. 537.
προσδεδεγμένη Trach. 15.
δέδωκας Phil. 664. F 826.
δεδώκασι Phil. 372.
προδέδομαι Phil. 923.
δέδοκται El. 1049. Trach. 719. Phil. 990. 1274. 1277.
δεδογμένα (nt.n.) Ant. 576. OC 1431.
δεδραγμένος (Ant. 235) (πεπραγμένος, πεφραγμένος).
δέδρακα OR 645. Ant. 536.
δέδρακας Phil. 924. OC 911.
δέδρακε(ν) OR 559. Ant. 482.
δεδράκασι Phil. 315.
δεδρακέναι Ant. 442.
δεδρακότα (m.) OR 246. Trach. 1073.
δεδρακυῖαν Ant. 483.
δεδρακότα (nt.n.) OC 267.
εἰωθόσιν (m.) Phil. 939.
ἐλήλαται Aias 275.
ἐξελήλακεν OC 376.
ἐξελήλαμαι OC 1292.
ἐξελήλασαι OC 1388. F 799,2.
ἠμπόληκας Aias 978.
ἐξημπόλημαι Ant. 1036.
κατηναρισμένας Aias 26.
εἱμένος OC 1701.
ἔοικα OR 744. Phil. 317.
ἔοικας Aias 354. El. 516. 1048. Trach. 1241. Ant. 1270. 1280. Phil. 972. F 269c,24.
ἔοικε(ν) Aias 334. 337. 344. 1120. 1139. El. 765. 772. 1116. 1341. OR 962. 1160. Trach. 1084. 1238. Ant. 393. 576. 740. Phil. 403. 821. 911. OC 1249. 1262. F 314,92.
ἔοιγμεν Aias 1239. F 314,101.
ἐοικότες F 945,2.
ἐπεικότα F 314,277.
προσεικότα (nt.a.) (El. 618) (προσηκότα). Phil. 903.
εἴργασαι El. 1315. Trach. 1203. Ant. 1228. Phil. 1172. OC 825.
εἴργασται Aias 22. OR 279.
εἰργάσθαι OR 347. Trach. 745. Ant. 294.
εἰργασμένος F 314,374.
εἰργασμένῳ (m.) Ant. 267.
εἰργασμένα (nt.n.) OR 1369. 1374.
ἐξειργασμένος Ant. 262.
ἐξειργασμένη Ant. 384 .
ἐξειργασμένην Trach. 706.
ἐξειργασμένον (nt.a.) Aias 315.
ἐξει[ρ]γασμένου F 314,158.
ἐξειργασμένοι [OC 1016] (conj.) (ἐξηρπασμένοι).
ἐξειργασμένοις (m.) Ant. 428.
ἐξειργασμένοις (nt.) Aias 377.
ἐλήλυθα OR 7. 1422. OC 366.
ἐλήλυθας Phil. 50. 328.
ἐλήλυθεν OR 1527. Phil. 141. F 314, 180. F 314,180.
ἐληλυθώς Aias 1316.
εἰσελήλυθας OR 319.
ἐξελήλυθεν Phil. 43.
ἐξεληλυθώς OC 426. OR 735.
ηὕρηκα OR 546.
ηὕρημαι Trach. 1075.
ηὕρηται (Aias 617) (γεγένηται).
ηὑρῆσθαι OR 1050.
ηὑρημένα (nt.n.) (OC 1188) (εἰρημέν').
ἐφηύρηκα El. 1093. OC 1257.
ἐφηύρημαι OR 1421.
ηὔγμην Trach. 610.
ηὖκτ(ο) F 730f,16.
ἐζευγμένην Trach. 536.
συγκατέζευκται Aias 123.
ἠσσημένοις (m.) Aias 1242.
τέθηλε Phil. 259.
τεθάμβηκα Ant. 1246.
ἐντεθέρμανται [Trach. 368] (conj.) (ἐκκέχαυται).
τεθέσπισται OC 388.
τεθηγμένη Aias 584.
τεθησαυρισμένη F 398,2.
τέθνηκα El. 1152. Phil. 1030.
τέθνηκε(ν) Aias 966. 970. El. 48. 290. 526. 673. 924. 1426. OR 943. 1235. Trach. 877. 1130. Ant. 560. 1282. Phil. 333. 334. 497.

τεθνᾶσι(ν) Aias 99. Ant. 1173. Phil. 429.
τεθνηκέναι Aias 479.
τεθνηκώς Phil. 435.
τεθνηκότα (m.) El. 1341. Trach. 806.
τεθνηκότος (m.) Aias 393. El. 554. 932. 1214. OR 313.
τεθνηκότι (m.) El. 355. F 381,1.
τεθνηκότας Aias 1154.
τεθνηκότων (m.) Phil. 1313.
τεθρύληται [Phil. 1401] (conj.) (τεθρήληται, τεθρύλληται, τεθρήνηται).
ἱδρῦσθαι Trach. 68. F 212,5.
ἀνεῖται (Aias 1214) (ἐκκεῖται, ἐγκεῖται).
ἀνειμένη El. 516.
ἀνειμένας Ant. 579.
ἀφεῖται Ant. 1165.
ἐξαφεῖται Trach. 72.
παρεῖκα F 328,1.
παρεῖτο El. 545.
ὑφειμένη Ant. 531.
ὑφειμένῃ El. 335.
ἵγμεθα Trach. 229.
ἱγμένοις (m.) Phil. 494.
ἀφῖγμαι OR 920.
ἀφῖξαι OR 933.
ἀφῖκται Ant. 934. OC 794.
ἀφίγμεθα OC 2.
ἀφῖκτο OC 1590.
ἀφιγμένος OR 935. OC 634. 1308.
ἀφιγμένην OR 833.
ἀφιγμένοις (m.) Phil. 317.
]ισαφιγμ[ε F 730g,186.
ἕστηκεν Aias 102. 815.
ἕσταμεν OR 1442. Trach. 1145. OC 1017.
ἕστασαν El. 723. F 342,2 (ἕστασαν).
ἑστάτω Aias 1084. El. 50.
ἑστάναι Ant. 640.
ἑστώς Aias 87. F 210,38. 210,38.
ἑστῶτος (m.) OR 565.
ἑστῶτα (nt.n.) Trach. 1271.
ἀμφεστᾶσι OC 1312.
ἀφεστάναι Phil. 865.
ἐξανέστηκ[εν F 10c,5.
ἐφεστᾶσι Aias 945.
ἐφεστώτων (m.) Aias 1072. Trach. 1170.
καθέσταμεν OC 23.
καθέστατε OR 10. Trach. 1091.
καθεστήκοι (Aias 1074) (παρεστήκει).
καθεστάναι OR 703.
καθεστώτων (nt.) Ant. 1160.
παρέστατε (imper.) Aias 1183.
παρεστάναι Aias 117.
παρεστός (nt.a.) OR 633.
παρεστώσης Phil. 734. OC 1030.
παρεστῶτος (nt.) Phil. 1340.
παρεστώτων (m.) OR 1047. F 409,2.
παρεστώτοιν (m.dat.) El. 1367.
παρεστώσαιν (gen.) OC 1111.
κέχονα F 1058.
κεκλῇο Phil. 119.
κεκλῇτ(ο) F 696,2.
κέκλησο Phil. 85.
κεκλῆσθαι El. 366. 1089. Trach. 736. F 86,1.
κεκλημένη [F 658,1] (conj.) (κεχρημένη).
κεκλ[η]μένον F 1132.5,3.
κεκμηκότων F 284,2.
ἐκκεχαρμένος F 473.
συγκέκραμαι Ant. 1311.
συγκεκραμένην Aias 895.
κέκευθε(ν) El. 869. 1120. OC 1523.
κεκευθότοιν (m.gen.) (Ant. 911) (βεβηκότων, τετευχότων).
κεκιθάρικεν F 15 (ἐκιθάρισεν).
ἐκκεκήρυκται [Ant. 203] (conj.) (ἐκκεκηρύχθαι).
ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι Ant. 27.
κέκλαγγεν[F 1133.45,7.
κεκλαυμέναι OR 1490.
κεκλέμμεθα (Ant. 681) (κεκλήμεθα, κεκλίμεθα).
κεκλημάτωται F 255,4 .
κέκληται F 711.
κεκλημένην F 393).
ἐγκεκλη[ιμένος F 314,400.
ἐγκεκλημένον (m.) Trach. 579.
ἐγκεκλημένους Aias 1274.
κεκλιμ[ένος F 314,125.
ἐσκεκόμισται F 260a.
κέκραγας Aias 1236.
κέκρυπτ[αι] F 314,265.
κεκρυμμένος OC 621.
κεκρυμμένη OR 1398.
κεκρυμμένον (nt.n.) Trach. 556.
κεκρυμμένην El. 638. F 326. 441a,7.
κεκρυμμένον (nt.a.) El. 55.
κεκρυμμένοι El 1294.
ἐγκεκρυμμένη F 745,1.
κεκτημένος Ant. 1277.
κεκτημένῳ (m.) Phil. 778.
ἀνέκτημαι F 358.
ἐκκεκώπηται [F 145] (conj.) (ἐκκεκόπηται).
κεκώφη[σαι F 314,204.
-εἴληχε(ν) Aias 1058. F 24,7.
εἰληχώς (El. 1135) (εἰληφώς).

λελογχότα (m.) [OC 1583] (conj.) (λελοιπότα).
ἐξειληχότες (OC 1337) (ἐξειληφότες).
ἐπιλέλογχε OC 1235.
εἴληφα OR 643.
εἰληφότας OC 729.
εἰληφότε F 596.
λέλημμαι F 750
ἐπείληπται Ant. 732.
λελάμπρυνται F 710,2.
λέληθας OR 415.
λέληθεν OR 247.
λεληθέναι OR 366.
λελῆσθαι El. 342.
λέλεχται Phil. 389.
λελέχθαι OR 405. OC 1035.
λελεγμένη (El. 1298) (δεδεγμένη).
λελεγμένα (nt.a.) El. 1011.
εἴρηκα El. 73. Ant. 886.
εἴρηκας El. 1017. 1040. Trach. 456. Ant. 735. Phil. 1237. F 185.
εἴρηκεν Trach. 63.
εἰρηκέναι Trach. 487.
εἰρηκώς Phil. 1402. OC 414. 572.
εἴρηται Ant. 725.
εἰρῆσθαι OR 553.
εἰρημένης Trach. 1213.
εἰρημένα (nt.n.) OR 768. F 576,6.
εἰρημένων (nt.) El. 1186. OR 543. Ant. 215. OC 257.
ἀντειρηκότος (m.) Ant. 47.
ἐκλελεγμένοις [F 904,1] (conj.) (ἐκλελειμμένος).
ἐξείρηκα Trach. 374.
ἐξείρηκας Trach. 350.
ἐξείρητο OR 984.
λέλοιπεν Trach. 327.
λελοιπότα (m.) El. 1444.
λέλειψαι OR 1504.
λέλειπται OR 1418.
λελείμμεθον El. 950.
ἐλέλειπτο Ant. 1202.
λελειμμένῳ (m.) Aias 543.
λελειμμένη Ant. 548.
λελειμμένοι (Aias 1245) (λελημμένοι).
λελειμμένα (dual nom.) Ant. 58.
ἀπολέλοιπεν El. 185.
ἐκλέλοιπε(ν) El. 19. 1149.
ἐλλελειμμένον (m.) (El. 736) (ἐκλελειμμένον).
μέμηνας El. 879.
μέμηνεν Ant. 790.
μεμηνότα (m.) Aias 81.
ἐκμεμαγμένα F 314,146.
μεμιγμένων (m.) [El. 1485] (1485-86 secl. Dindorf).
ἀναμεμειγμένοι El. 715.
εἱμαρμένα (nt.a.) [Trach. 169] (169-170 del. Bergk).
ἐμμέμονεν Trach. 982.
ἐπιμέμονεν (Phil. 515) (ἐπιμέμηνεν).
μεμηχάνηται Trach. 586.
μέμνησθε OR 1401.
μεμνώμεθα OR 49.
μεμνῆσθε OC 1555.
μέμνησο Aias 1354.
μεμνῆσθαι El. 1252. OR 1057.
μεμνημένος Trach. 1223. OC 1361.
μεμωλυσμένη F 693.
νεναυστοληκότες Phil. 550.
νένωται F 182.
ἐξενίσμεθα F 314,143.
ἐξενωμένου (m.) Trach. 65.
οἶδα Aias 121. 560. 748. 792. 938. El. 131. 332. 354. 400. 672. 689. 836. 846. (846) (οἶδ' οἶδ'). 1110. OR 59. 527. 530. 569. 571. 655. 1038. 1133. 1251. 1367. 1371. 1455. Trach. 22. 67. 314. 317. 666. 714. 1150. 1192. Ant. 16. 89. 249. 276. 477. 1043. 1058. 1251. Phil. 320. 564. 580. 626. 634. 681. 754. 897. 938. 1336. 1390. OC 24. 53. 452. 562. 656. 662. 666. 797. 806. 852. 1161. 1197. 1615. F 84,1. 165,1. 258,1. 508. 566,3.
οἶσθα Aias 1291. El. 55. 922. 948. 1307. 1348. OR 43. 415. 543. 570. 574. 653. 1014. 1128. 1142. 1517. Trach. 76. 627. 1191. 1219. Ant. 2. 316. 1057. Phil. 241. 249. 444. 753. 753. 754. 852. OC 75. 656. 1474. F 462,1. F 1132.18,9 (]οισθ' ἃ λέγω).
οἶδε(ν) El. 1442. (OR 230) (εἶδεν). Trach. 41. 313. Ant. 457. 521. 1048. Phil. 946. F 298. F 770,3.
ἴσμεν Aias 23.
ἴστε Ant. 883. OC 220.
ἴσασι Aias 965.
ᾔδη El. 1018. 1185. OR 433. Ant. 18. 448. OC 944.
ᾔδησθα Ant. 447.
ᾔδει OR 1525. Phil. 1010.
ᾔδειν F 326.
ᾔδεμεν OR 1232.
ᾖστε F 340.
εἰδῶ Trach. 1067. Phil. 238. (OC 889) (ἴδω).
εἰδῇς Trach. 678. Phil. 989.
εἰδῶμεν F 314,212.

εἰδείην El. 660.
εἰδείη OC 882.
]ιδείημεν F 222,7.
εἰδεῖτε OR 1046.
ἴσθι Aias 1155. 1308. 1316. El. 40. 298. 605. 690. 877. 1118. 1200. 1362. OR 346. 690. 959. 1022. 1117. 1181. 1438. Trach. 739. Ant. 98. 473. 758. 1063. Phil. 122. 232. 253. 977. 980. 1197. 1277. 1296. 1305. 1329. 1421. OC 254. 396. 1210. F 314,333. 314,335.
ἴστω Aias 417. Ant. 184. Trach. 399. OC 522. F 555b,4.
ἴστε OR 66. Trach. 1107.
εἰδέναι El. 318. 668. OR 745. 993. Trach. 321. 459. 592. 632. Ant. 263. 301. 535. Phil. 960. F 314,262.
εἰδώς Aias 747. El. 41. OR 119. 318. (397) (οὐδείς). 1008. 1151. Trach. 775. Ant. 166. 377. 649. OC 273. 1128. F 845,2.
εἰδυῖα El. 935. OC 983.
εἰδότα (m.) Phil. 253. OC 983. 1155. 1539.
εἰδυίας Aias 13.
εἰδότι (m.) Ant. 618.
εἰδότες OR 500. Trach. 1267. Ant. 310.
εἰδότων (m.) OC 274.
εἰδόσιν (m.) Ant. 33.
διειδέναι OC 295.
ἔξοιδα El. 222. 527. 1251. 1448. OR 105. Trach. 5. Phil. 79. 407. 474. 1037. OC 270. 360. 567. 985. 1028. 1171.
ἔξοισθα El. 1244. OC 1588.
ἐξῄδη Ant. 460.
ἐξῄδησθα Trach. 988.
ἐξειδέναι El. 658. OR 129.
ἐξειδώς OR 37. Trach. 399.
κάτοιδα Aias 270. El. 378. 414. 426. 923. Phil. 250. OC 1475. 1688.
κάτοισθα Aias 589. OR 1041. Trach. 418. 813. Phil. 553. 1343. F 730e,5.
κάτοιδε(ν) OR 225. 1048. 1134. Trach. 439. Phil. 44.
κάτιστε OR 926.
κατῄδη Trach. 87.
κατείδῃς F 314,170.
κάτισθι Ant. 1064.
κατειδυῖαν El. 1447.
κατειδότας F 590,2.
ξυνίσασι El. 93.
ξυνῄδη OC 948.
συνειδῇ F 931,2.
ξυνειδέναι Ant. 266.
ξυνειδώς OR 330. 704.
ξυνειδότος (m.) OR 250.
ᾤχηκεν El. 1101.
κατῴχηνται (OC 1004) (κατῳκίσθαι).
συγκατῴχηκεν OC 1259.
ᾠνωμένος Trach. 268.
οἴχωκα Aias 896.
ᾤχωκε F 241,1
ὄλωλα Aias 896. El. 674. 1482. Trach. 1144. 1144. Phil. 76.
ὄλωλας OR 1166.
ὄλωλε(ν) Aias 979. 1033. OR 949. Ant. 195. 1175. OC 1583. 1613.
ὀλώλαμεν Aias 791. OR 1505.
ὀλωλότα (m.) El. 806. OR 759. 956. Ant. 1029. 1288. OC 1580.
ὀλωλότος (m.) OR 126. 257.
ὀλωλότας Phil. 1043.
ὀλωλότων (m.) Ant. 174. 894.
ὀλωλότοιν (m.gen.) Phil. 427.
ἀπόλωλα Phil. (742) (ὄλωλα). 745. 923. 978. 1187.
ἐξολωλότος (m.) [Trach. 84] (eiecit Bentley).
ἐξωμμάτωται F 710,2.
ὠνόμασται OC 294.
ὠνομασμένος Trach. 1105.
ὠνομασμένοι OC 61.
ἐπωνομασμένην El. 284.
ὡπλισμένῳ (m.) Aias 1123.
ὠπτημένων F 1136.
ὄπωπα Aias 1150. El. 763. Ant. 6. Phil. 676.
ὄπωπε Ant. 1126.
ὠρχωμότηκεν F 1116a.
ὡρμημένος El. 70.
ἐξώρμηκεν Trach. 1089.
ὠρώρει OC 1622.
ὠρφανισμένος Trach. 942.
ἀφωσιωμέναι F 253.
συνωφρυωμένη Trach. 869.
παραπεπαισμέν[F 314,240.
πέπονθα Trach. 1078. OC 516. 595. 892. 896.
πέπονθας Phil. 740.
πέπονθε F 900.
πεπονθέναι OR 516.
πεπονθώς (Ant. 995) (πεποιθώς Zc). OC 873. 953.
πεπονθότος (m.) Aias 523.
πεπονθότα (nt.n.) OC 267.
πέπαυμαι Phil. 1280.
πέπαυται Aias 263.
πεπαύμεθα El. 796.
πεπαυμένος Aias 279.

πεπαυμένην Aias 787.
πέποιθα Aias 769. El. 323. F 730c,12.
πεπείρανται (Trach. 581) (πεπείραται).
πεπείρασαι F 584,2.
πέπηγε Aias 819.
πέπωκεν (Trach. 1056) (πέπτωκεν).
πέπραμαι Phil. 978.
πέπτωκα El. 1477.
πέπτωκεν OC 749.
πεπτῶτα (m.) Aias 828. 922. Ant. 697.
πεπτωκός (nt.a.) El. 1467.
πεπτῶτος (m.) Ant. 1018.
πεπτωκότες OR 146.
ἐκπεπτωκότα (m.) El. 749.
ἐμπέπτωκεν Phil. 965. (OC 1150) (ἐκπέπτωκεν). F 852,2.
συμπεπτωκότα (m.) Aias 429.
ἐμπεπλεγμένην OR 1264.
πέπλευκας Phil. 72.
πεπλεύκατε Phil. 404.
πέπληγμαι El. 1415.
πεπληγμένην Trach. 931.
ἐκπέπληγμαι Aias 33. Trach. 24. 386.
ἐκπεπληγμένον (m.) OR 922.
ἐκπεπληγμένην Ant. 433.
πεποικίλωκε F 581,2.
πεπονημένος Trach. 985.
πεπρωμένην (OC 421) (τὴν πεπραγμένην).
πεπρωμένης Ant. 1337.
διαπεπόρθημαι Aias 896.
ἐκπεπόρθημαι Trach. 1104.
πέπρακται F 885a.
πεπραγμένον (nt.a.) OR 1140.
πεπραγμένα (nt.n.) OR 621. Trach. 664.
πεπραγμένοις (nt.) El. 549.
διαπεπραγμένου (m.) Trach. 784.
πεπυσμένος OR 513.
πεπυσμένη Trach. 141.
πεπυσμένῃ Trach. 292.
κατερρακωμένος Trach. 1103.
κατερρυηκότι F 155.
παρερρύηκεν Phil. 653.
ἔρρωγεν OR 1280. Trach. 851.
παρέρρωγεν Phil. 824.
ἐρριζωμένον (m.) OC 1591.
κατερρικνωμένος F 314,302.
ἐρριμμένα (nt.n.) Aias 1271.
ἐπεσκιασμένη Trach. 914.
ὑπεσπανισμένον (nt.n.) Aias 740.
ἐσταλμένον (nt.n.) Trach. 776.
ἐστερημένος OC 857.
ἐστερημένην Trach. 177.
ἐστερημένῃ El. 960.
ἐστερημένοι F 863,1.

ἀπεστέρηκας Phil. 931. 1283.
ἀπεστέρηκε El. 950.
ἀπεστερημένη El. 813.
ἀπεστερημένην F 670,1.
ἀπεστερημένο[υ F 314,82.
ἐξεστεμμένον (nt.n.) OR 19.
ἐξεστεμμένοι OR 3.
ἐστίβηται Aias 874.
σεσώμεθα Trach. 83.
σεσωμένος Aias 1129.
σεσωμένον (m.) Aias 692. El. 1229.
σεσωμένην Trach. 735.
σεσωμένους Ant. 314 .
σεσωμένα (nt.a.) Trach. 626.
τέτακται Phil. 1180.
τεταγμένοι El. 709. 759.
προστεταγμένον (m.) Ant. 670.
τέταται Phil. 831.
τέτατο Ant. 600.
ἐκτέταμαι OR 153.
ἐκτέταται Aias 1402. Phil. 857.
τετελέσθαι F 590,4.
ἐντεταλμένα F 462,1.
τετμημένον (m.) El. 901.
τέτηκα El. 283.
ἐντέτηκε El. 1311.
προστετακώς Trach. 837.
διατετιλμένης F 659,7.
τετίμηνται OC 1304.
ἐκτετίμηνται El. 64.
τέτραπται F 221,15.
ἀνατέτροφας (Trach. 1009) (ἀντέστροφας, ἂν στροφας, ἀντέστρωφάς θ').
τέτροφεν OC 186.
τεθραμμένος F 950,2.
τεθραμμένον (nt.a.) OR 97.
ἀφυστερήμεθα [Aias 782] (conj.) (ἀπεστερήμεθα).
πέφηνας OC 328.
πέφηνεν (El. 646) (πέφυκεν).
πεφηνότος (m.) (El. 1260) (φανέντος νῦν).
πέφασμαι OR 1184. OC 1543.
πέφανται Ant. 621.
πεφάνθαι OR 691. Ant. 562.
πεφασμένην OC 1122.
πεφασμένου (m.) OR 838.
ἀναπέφηνε OC 1222.
ἐκπεφασμένος F 314,279.
πέφευγα OR 356.
πέφευγε Aias 102.
πεφευγέναι Ant. 437. Phil. 1044.
πεφευγότες Ant. 412.
ἐκπεφευγοίην OR 840.
ἐκπεφευγότες Aias 454.

ἔφθαρται El. 765.
ἐφθαρμένον (nt.v.) El. 1181.
ἐφθαρμένης OR 254.
ἐφθαρμένας Aias 25.
διέφθορεν El. 306.
διέφθαρμαι Trach. 1056.
πεφόβημαι Aias 139. 254.
διαπεφοιβάσθαι (Aias 332) (διαπεφοιβᾶσθαι).
ἐμπεφόρτισμαι (Ant. 1036) (κἀκπεφόρτισμαι).
ξυμπέφρασται Ant. 364.
πεφραγμένον F 426.
πέφυκα El. 608. OR 1082. Ant. 688. Phil. 558.
πέφυκας El. 1171. Ant. 38. OC 912. F 86,2. 694,1.
πέφυκε(ν) El. 322. Trach. 378. 440. Ant. 440. F 314,303. 314,305. 735,2. 951,2.
πεφύκατον OC 1369.
πεφυκέναι Aias 1095. Trach. 722. Phil. 1372. F 356,1.
πεφυκώς Phil. 1244. OC 1294.
πεφυκότα (m.) Phil. 79.
πεφυκόσιν (m.) El. 989.
ἐκπεφυκός (nt.n.) Ant. 320.
ἐκπεφυκότα (nt.n.) OR 262.
ἐμπέφυκεν OR 299. F 949,1.
κέχυται Trach. 852.
κεχρημένοι Phil. 1264.
ἐψευσμένον (m.) OR 461. F 577,4.
ἐψευσμένα F 1130,13.
κατέψηκται Trach. 698.

Euripides

Text: for the plays the Oxford-text of J. Diggle (Vol. 1, containing *Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea, Heraclidae, Hippolytus, Andromacha, Hecuba*, Oxford 1984; Vol. 2, containing *Supplices, Electra, Hercules, Troades, Iphigenia in Tauris, Ion*, Oxford 1981) and that of G. Murray (Vol. 3, containing *Helena, Phoenissae, Orestes, Bacchae, Iphigenia Aulidensis, Rhesus*, Oxford ²1913). The fragments have *not* been included. The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Concordance to Euripides*, edd. J.T. Allen and G. Italie (Berkeley 1954; reprinted Groningen 1970).

ἐξηγγελμένοις (nt.) (Med. 1008) (ἐξειργασμένοις).
ὑπηγκαλισμένη Heracl. 42.
ἥγνισαι Or. 429.
ἡγνίσμεθα El. 793.
καθήγνισται Or. 40.
κατέαγα Cycl. 684.
ἠγρευκότες Ba. 434.
ἠγρίωσαι Or. 226. 387.
ἠγριώμεθα IT 348.
ἠγριώμην [El. 1031] (conj.) (ἠγριούμην).
ἀνῆκται Tro. 1126.
παρῆκται Heracl. 673.
ἠγωνίσμεθα Ion 939.
ἠγωνισμένων (nt.) Hi. 465.
ἠδίκηκα Alc. 689 (ἠδίκησα).
ἠδίκηκας Med. 309 (ἠδίκησας).
ἠδικήκαμεν Ba. 1344.
ἠδικηκότα (m.) Hi. 228.
ἠδίκησαι IA 1138 (τί μ' ἠδίκησε).
ἠδικημένος Med. 221. El. 915.
ἠδικημένη Med. 26. 265. El. 1020.
ἠδχιμημένην Andr. 350.
ἠδικημένης IA 1388.
ἠδικημένῳ (m.) Or. 584.
ἠδικημένοι Med. 314.
ἠδικημένοις (m.) IA 79 (ἀδικουμένοις).
ἠθροισμένου (m.) IA 87.
ἠθροϊσμένους IA 267.
συνήθροισται Rh. 613.
κατῃθαλωμένην Tro. 60.
ᾐκισμένη Med. 1130.
ᾑματωμένη Ba. 1135.
ᾑρηκέναι (Rh. 330) (εἰρηκέναι).
ᾑρήμεθα El. 1009.
ᾑρημένον (m.) Alc. 1065.
ᾑρημένων (nt.) El. 1009.
ἀνῄρησαι El. 608.
διῄρηκ(ε) Ba. 206.
ἐξῃρημέναι Tro. 33.
ἐπηρμένη Andr. 197.
ἐπηρμένοι Andr. 705.
ᾔσθημαι Hipp. 1403.
ᾔσθησθ(ε) Ba. 605.
ᾐσθημένος Tro. †638†.
ᾐσθημένον (m.) Or. 1550.
ἠσθημένοι Rh. 671.

κἀπήτηκα Or. 678.
ἠκριβωκότες Hec. 1192.
ἀλήληντο Andr. 306.
ἀπηλλάχθαι Andr. 963. El. 1137. Tro. 271. Phoen. 1678.
ἠλλοιωμένους Hi. 943.
ἠλοχίσμεθ(α) Hi. 826.
ἡμάρτηκας Alc. 616.
ἡμάρτηκε(ν) Hipp. 21. 320.
ἡμαρτηκότες HF 1319.
ἡμαρτηκόσιν (m.) Hipp. 464.
ἡμαρτημένοις (nt.) Tro. 1028.
ἐξημελγμένον (nt.n.) Cycl. 209.
ἡμιλλημένην Hel. 546.
ἠναγκασμένος Or. 904.
κατηναγκασμένος Ba. 643.
κατηναγκασμένους (IA 395) (συνηναγκασμένους).
ἀνήλωται Andr. 1154.
ἠνδρωμένοι HF 42.
ἐξηνδρωμένος Hi. 703.
ἠνθρακωμένος Cycl. 612.
κατηνθρακώμεθ(α) Cycl. 663.
ἐξηντληκέναι Med. 79.
ἐξηντληκότες Cycl. 282.
ἄνωγα Cycl. 340. 701.
ἄνωγε (imper.) Or. 119.
ἀνωχθι Alc. 1044.
ἀνωχθ(ε) HF 241. Rh. 987.
ἠξιωμένοι Hi. 1175.
ἠξιωμένα (nt.a.) Hec. 366.
ἠπατήμεθα Andr. 435.
ἠπατημένοι Hel. 704.
ἠπόρημαι IA 537.
ἧπται Hel. 107.
ἀνημμένον (nt.n.) (HF 35) (ἀνηγμένον).
ἀνημμένοι HF 478.
ἀνημμένα (nt.a.) HF 1038.
ἐνήμμεθα [HF 549] (conj.) (ἀνήμμεθα).
ἄραρε(ν) Med. 322. 414. 745. Heracl. 398. Hipp. 1090. Andr. 255. Or. 1330. 1571.
ἀραρώς El. 948.
ἠριθμημένος Hel. 729.
κατηρίθμηται Tro. 872.
ἥρμοσται Phoen. 116.
ἡρμοσμένα (nt.a.) HF 945.
κατήρμοσθ(ο) Rh. 767.
μεθηρμόσμεθα Alc. 1157.
ἥρπαστο El. 1041.
ἀνήρπασται Phoen. 1079.
ἠρτημένη Hipp. 779. 857.
ἠρτημένα (nt.a.) IT 74.
ἐξηρτήμεθα Hi. 735.
ἐξηρτημένοι Alc. 189.
ἐξηρτυμένας Hipp. 1186.
ἐνῆρκται El. 1142.
κατῆρκται Heracl. 601.
ἠσχηκώς Or. 922 (ἐσχηκώς).
ἠσχηκότα (m.) Hi. 872.
ἦσχησαι Ion 326.
ἠσχημένοι IA 83.
ἐξησχημέναι Rh. 922.
ἠτιμασμένος El. 323. Phoen. 877.
ἠτιμασμένη Med. 20. IA 943.
ἠτιμώμεθα Hel. 455.
ηὐξημένη IA 1248.
βέβηκα Hel. 1524.
βέβακα Tro. 290.
βέβηκας Phoen. 1074
βέβηκ(ε)(ν) Alc. 392. 767. Andr. 1061. Hi. 1039. 1043. HF 24. 621. Tro. 617. 1145. IT 1478. Ion 749. Hel. 605. 1515. 1522. Phoen. 596. 861. 1322. Or. 1185. Rh. 577.
βέβακ(ε)(ν) Alc. 394. Med. 439. Andr. 1028. HF 768. 880. Tro. 582. 582. Or. 971. 971.
βεβήκαμεν Med. 766. Heracl. 62.
βεβᾶσι(ν) Andr. 1022. Hi. 1138. 1139. Tro. 835. IT 1289. Hel. 1614. Rh. 689.
βεβώς Cycl. [6] (conj.) (γεγώς). Hi. 850. HF 956. 1112. Tro. 690. IT 1285. Phoen. 172. Ba. 646. 1223.
βεβηκώς HF 178.
βεβακώς Heracl. 910-11.
βεβηκυῖαν Hel. 617.
βεβῶτος (m.) El. 453.
βεβηκότος (m.) IA 1103.
βεβῶσι Or. 1044.
κἀκβέβηκ(α) [Cycl. 480] (480-2 del.) Med. 56.
ἐκβέβηκ(ε) Med. 229.
'μβεβάναι [Heracl. 610] (conj.) (βεβάναι).
ἐμβεβώς HF 164. Phoen. 2.
ἐμβεβῶτα (m.) Hec. 922.
ἐμβεβῶτες Cycl. 92.
ἐπεμβεβῶτας Rh. 783.
ἐπιβεβώς Tro. 1078.
ξυμβέβηκε Hel. 1007.
ξυμβεβᾶσιν Hel. 622.
βεβάκχευται Or. 835.
βεβλημένον (nt.a.) IT 49.
ἐκβέβληκεν Tro. 1127.
ἐκβεβλημένος El. 412.
ἐκβεβλημένη Med. 512. El. 1004. Ba. 1366.
ἐκβεβλημένην Tro. 448.
συμβεβλήκαμεν El. 906.

ὑπερβεβλημένην Alc. 153.
βεβαρβάρωσαι Or. 485.
ἐβλαστήκασ(ι) IA 594 .
μεμβλωκότων (m.) Rh. 629.
βεβούλευμαι Med. 567. 893.
βεβούλευσαι Hi. 248.
βεβούληται [IA 1395] (conj.) (δ' ἐβουλήθη).
βέβριθ(α) El. 305.
γέγωνε (imper.) Or. 1220.
γεγευμένος [Hipp. 663] (del. Barrett).
γέγηθ(α) Cycl. 465. Hec. 279. Hel. 632. Ba. 1198. IA 649. 649.
γέγηθ(ε) Cycl. 168. 525. Hipp. 631. Or. 66.
ξυγγέγηθε Hel. 727.
γεγήραχ(ε) Ion 1392.
γέγον(α) Andr. 539.
γέγονας Ion 1472. [IA 1615].
γέγονε(ν) Ion 864.
γεγώς Alc. 860. Med. 223. 467. 548. 554. Heracl. 30. 212. 326. 816. 987. Hipp. 943. 995. 1309. Andr. 580. 647. 709. Hec. 3. Hi. 219. 896. El. 46. 881. HF 1320. IT 495. 509. Ion 64. 109. 1436. 1573. Hel. 942. 1030. Phoen. 123. 628. Or. 483. 1617. Ba. 47. 199. 284. 1250. 1305. 1309. 1332. 1347. IA 321. 406. 946.
γεγῶσ(α) Alc. 532. Andr. 434. IT 473. 801. Ion 339. 1073.
γεγῶτ(α) (m.) Alc. 678. IT 686. Ion 537. 779. 1535. IA 856. 901.
γεγῶσαν Med. 406. Andr. 1254. HF 1175.
γεγῶτες Med. 558. Heracl. 235. HF 251. IA 369.
γεγῶτας Med. 216.
γεγώτων (m.) Med. 490.
γεγῶσι(ν) (m.) Andr. 320. El. 36. 531.
γεγῶτ(ε) Hel. 1685.
γεγενήμεθα Cycl. 637.
γεγενῆσθαι Alc. 85.
ἐκγεγώς Ba. 1340.
ἔγνωκα Alc. 1080. IT 934.
ἔγνωκε Med. 34.
ἐγνώκαμεν Ba. 1346.
ἐγνωκότα (m.) El. 938.
ἐγνωσμένος Tro. 237.
ἐγνωσμένοι HF 1287.
ἐγνωσμένα (nt.a.) (Med. 779) (εἰργασμένα).
γεγραμμένα (nt.a.) IA 891.
γεγραμμένων (m.) Hi. 433.
ἐγγεγραμμένα (nt.n.) IT 787.
κἀγγεγραμμένα (nt.a.) IT 760.
τἀγγεγραμμένα (nt.a.) IT 763. IA [113] (105-114 seclusit Murray). 324.
δεδηγμένοι Rh. 596.
δέδασται HF 1329.
δέδοικ/χ(α) Med. 37. 282. Heracl. 284. Hipp. 518. 924. Andr. 362. El. 1114. 1122. 1122. IT 843. 996. Ion 975. Hel. 1395. Phoen. 155. 263. 384. Or. 102. Ba. 670. Rh. 863.
δέδοικας HF 209. Or. 1520. IA 522.
δέδοικεν Phoen. 959.
δεδοικέναι Hi. 548.
δεδοικώς Hi. 446. Ion 624. Phoen. 1594.
δέδορκ/χ(α) Med. 1118. Andr. 545. El. 339. 568. HF 1089. Tro. 707. Or. 385.
δέδορκας Hi. 103. HF 1229. Tro. 1290. IT 285.
δέδορκε(ν) Hipp. 1163. Hi. 190. 1061. Tro. 1291.
δεδόρκατ(ε) HF 229. 513. Tro. 462.
δεδορκέναι [Hi. 179] (conj.) (δεδοικέναι).
δεδορκώς Cycl. 511. Alc. 122. Med. 221. Phoen. 377.
δεδορκότα (m.) Phoen. 1115.
δεδορκότες Heracl. 23. HF 564.
δεδορκότας Hipp. 1193.
ἐσδέδορκ(α) Andr. 615.
ἐσδέδορκεν El. 558.
προσδεδορκώς [Phoen. 144] (141-144 del. Schumacher).
δέδεγμαι IT 1496.
δεδεγμένη Hipp. 1057.
δεδεγμέναι Ba. 1086.
δέδεται Hipp. 160.
δέδενται Rh. 617.
δεδήληται Hipp. 174.
δεδήμευται Cycl. 119.
δέδωκας Med. 535. Hec. 1023. El. 953.
δέδωκε(ν) Hec. 1053. Tro. 867 (ἔδωκε).
δέδονται Hi. 757.
προδέδομαι Or. 723. 1228.
προδέδοσαι Hipp. 591.
προδέδοται IA 1140.
προδεδόμεσθα Ion 808.
δεδόκησαι Med. 763.
δέδοκται Med. 1236. Andr. 454. Hel. 982. Ba. 1350. IA 1375.
δεδογμένον (nt.n.) Heracl. 1.
δεδογμένων (nt.) Med. 822.
καταδεδούλωται IA 1269.
δέδραξαι Tro. 750.
δέδραχ(α) Cycl. 701.

δέδραχας Hec. 1048. Hi. 1177. (Rh. 591) (δέδορχας).
δέδραχεν Andr. 806. Hec. 792.
δεδράχαμεν Andr. 835.
δεδράχατον IT 1169.
δεδραμένα (nt.a.) Andr. 814.
δεδραμένων (nt.) Andr. 808. HF 169. 733. 756. Or. 1318.
δεδραμένοις (nt.) Andr. 914. El. 1106. HF 1012. 1160.
εἴθισμαι IA 726.
εἰθίσθαι Med. 122.
ἐξηχασμένα (nt.a.) Phoen. 162.
ἀπειργμένοι Heracl. 875.
εἴωθας Hi. 576.
εἴωθε Hec. 375.
εἰώθαμεν IT 104.
εἰωθός (nt.n.) Hec. 358.
εἰωθότων (nt.) HF 1108.
ἐξελήλαμαι Hel. 90.
ἠλευθέρωσαι Heracl. 789 (ἐλευθερῶσαι, ἠλευθερῶσθαι).
εἵλικτο HF 927.
εἵλκυσται Rh. 576.
εἱμένην Tro. 496.
ἔοικα Hec. 813.
ἔοικας Med. 337. IT 591. Hel. 579. 793. 1640. Rh. 268.
ἔοικ/χ(ε(ν) Alc. 1006. Med. 522. 1231. Heracl. 259. Hipp. 1090. Andr. 551. 822. Hec. 229. 766. 781. 1252. Hi. 157. 396. El. 636. HF 36. 318. 502. 1357. Tro. 618. IT 1417. Hel. 1177. Phoen. 406. 1204. 1426. Or. 768. 850. 856. 1577. Ba. 605. IA 461. Rh. 483. 631. 746. 807.
ἔοιγμεν Cycl. 99. Heracl. 427. 681.
εἴξασιν Hel. 497. IA 848.
προσεικέναι Ba. 1283.
προσῄξαι Alc. 1063.
εἴργασμαι Hipp. 284.
εἴργασαι Hec. 1122.
εἴργασται Med. 293. Hipp. 794. Hec. 264. 1085. Hel. 110. Or. 284. 600. IA 468.
εἰργάσμεθα Rh. 481.
εἰργασμένος Or. 396.
εἰργασμένη Med. [1121] (1121 del. Lenting). 1294.
εἰργασμένην Med. 1318.
εἰργασμένους Or. 413.
εἰργασμένων (nt.) Ion 1281.
ἐξειργάσμεθα Hipp. 565.
ἐξειργασμένος Or. 1624.
ἐξειργασμένον (m.) Heracl. 960.
ἐξειργασμένης El. 1083.
ἐξειργασμένοι Rh. 808.
τἀξειργασμένα (nt.a.) Or. 1320.
ἐξειργασμένων (f.) Ba. 1245.
ἐξειργασμένων (nt.) Ba. 1243.
ἐξειργασμένοις (nt.) (Or. 461) (ἡμαρτημένοις). Ba. 1039.
κατείργασται HF 151. IT 1081. Hel. 107.
κατειργασμένα (nt.n.) Ba. 1199.
συγκατείργασται [Or. 33] (33 del. Herwerden).
ὑπείργασμαι Hipp. 504.
ὑπείργασται Med. 871.
ἠρεθισμένον (nt.n.) Med. 1119.
ἠρημωμένας Ba. 688.
ἡρμηνευμένοι Tro. 429.
ἐλήλυθ(α) Hipp. 946. Tro. 905. Hel. 589. Phoen. 384. IA 1270. Rh. 275.
ἐλήλυθας Med. 1306. Phoen. 286. Ba. 1201. IA 1339.
ἐλήλυθεν Or. 741.
εἰσελήλυθ(ε) Or. 1324. Ba. 233.
ἠσθημένοι Hel. 1539.
ἡτοιμασμένα (nt.n.) Heracl. 399.
κατηύνασται Rh. 611.
ηὕρηκ/χ(α) Heracl. 534. Hel. 1178. IA 1107.
ηὕρηκας Med. 716. Hel. 738.
εὑρήκαμεν Hel. 1512 (†...†).
ηὕρηται Ba. 203.
ηὑρήμεθα IT 777.
ηὑρημένα (nt.n.) Tro. 645.
ἐξηύρηκε Andr. 272.
εὐτρεπισμέναι IA 1111.
παρευτρέπισται Cycl. 594.
ἐζεῦχθαι Hel. 1654.
ἐζευγμέναι El. 317.
συνέζευξαι (Alc. 482) (προσέζευξαι).
ἥγησαι Phoen. 550.
ἡσσημένος Alc. 697.
τεθηγμένη El. 1142.
τεθηγμένον (nt.a.) Or. 1625.
συντεθηγμένος Hipp. 689.
τέθνηκ/χ(α) Alc. 666. Andr. 334. Hec. 431. [El. 687] (685-9 del. Nauck). Hel. 286. Or. 1028.
τέθνηκας IT 378. Ion 565.
τέθνηκ/χ(ε)(ν) Alc. 434. 527. Hipp. 958. El. 769. 770. 1050. 1092. 1112. HF 192. Tro. 40. 622. 642. IT 56. 548. 549. Ion 951. 952. Hel. 279. 1196. Phoen. 1076. 1349. Or. 940. 1557. Rh. 847.
τεθνᾶσι(ν) Alc. 541. Med. 386. 1135. 1309. Hi. 529. HF 539. 913. Tro.

879. Hel. 138. 138. Or. 59. Rh. 801. 841.
τεθνηκότα (m.) Hec. 681. Hel. 1529. Phoen. 1320.
τεθνηκότος (m.) El. 229. Hel. 62.
τεθνηκότι (m.) Hel. 1248. 1251. 1564.
τεθνηκυίᾳ Or. 109.
τεθνηκότας Hec. 329.
τεθνηκότων (m.) Heracl. 520. Andr. 1270. Hec. 278. Phoen. 1640. Rh. 870.
τεθνεώτων (nt.) Hi. 273.
τεθοίναται [Cycl. 377] (conj.) (γε θοινᾶται).
συντεθράνωται Ba. 633.
ἵδρυται Hipp. 639. El. 1130.
ἱδρῦσθαι Hipp. 33.
ἱδρυμένη Hel. 820.
ἱδρυμένους Heracl. 19.
καθίδρυται Cycl. 318.
ἀνεῖται Or. 941.
ἀνειμένος Phoen. 947.
ἀνειμένον (nt.n.) Andr. 727.
ἀνειμένον (nt.a.) Heracl. 3.
ἀνειμένοις (m.) Andr. 598.
ἀφεῖσαι Or. 1524.
ἀφεῖνται Med. 1002.
ἀφειμένοι Hec. 1292.
ἀφειμένα (nt.a.) [El. 379] (373-9 del. Wilamowitz).
παρεῖκεν [Hel. 1059] (conj.) (παρῆκεν).
παρεῖμαι Phoen. 852.
παρεῖται Hi. 1070. Ba. 635.
παρειμένος Cycl. 591.
παρειμένη Alc. 204.
παρειμένον (m.) HF 1043. Or. 881.
παρειμένῳ (m.) Or. 210.
παρειμέναι Ba. 683.
ὑφειμένην Alc. 524.
ὑφειμένους HF 72.
ἀφῖγμαι Cycl. 352. Hipp. 284. El. 87. (HF 1174) (ἀφεῖμαι). Tro. 58. Ion 1254. IA 913.
ἀφῖξαι Heracl. 133. Or. 384. IA 319. ἀφῖκται Heracl. 655. IT 521.
ἀφίγμεθ(α) Heracl. 85. 441. [Hi. 252] (252 del. Matthiae). El. 111. 1242.
ἀφίγμην Ion 404.
ἀφῖχθαι Heracl. 56. Hel. 1174.
ἀφιγμένος Hipp. 1164. Or. 739. IA 453.
ἀφιγμένη El. 57.
ἀφιγμένον (m.) Alc. 772. El. 413 (†...†). Hel. 131. 817. 861. Rh. 854.
ἀφιγμένην Med. 238. IA 426.
ἀφιγμένης Hipp. 990.
ἀφιγμένοι Cycl. 93. Heracl. 94. 144 . Phoen. 1000.
ἀφιγμένων (m.) Heracl. 644.
σοὐσαφιγμένους [Cycl. 288] (conj.) (σοὺς ἀφιγμένους).
ἕστηκα El. 227.
ἕσταχα Hi. 1013.
ἕστηκας Med. 51. 1005. Hec. 577. IT 720.
ἕστηκε(ν) Alc. 1143. Heracl. 74. 400. 671. Andr. 996. Hi. 987.
ἕσταχ(ε) Phoen. 831.
ἕσταμεν Heracl. 145. Ion 1283. Phoen. 968 (ἵσταμαι). Ba. 1059. IA 861.
ἕστατε Med. 1293.
ἑστήκασι Cycl. 681.
ἑστᾶσ(ι) Phoen. 1079.
εἱστήκει HF 925.
ἕστασαν IA 240. 243.
ἑστάναι El. 344. Ba. 221. 926. Rh. 92.
ἑστηκώς Hel. 438.
ἑστώς Hi. 856.
ἑστῶτ(α) (m.) Rh. 302.
ἑστῶτες Cycl. 636. 639. 640.
ἑστῶτας IT 1349.
ἀνέστηκεν Hec. 494.
ἀφεστώς HF 198.
ἐνεστώς Hi. 896.
ἐξέστηχ(ε) Ba. 928.
ἐφέστηκας Hi. 1009
ἐφέστηκεν Hipp. 101. 1360.
ἐφεστᾶσιν Phoen 277.
ἐφέστατον IA 862.
ἐφέσταμεν (PQP) Andr. 1102.
ἐφέστασαν Andr. 1098. Hi. 755.
ἐφεστῶσιν (subj.) Ba. 319.
ἐφεστάναι Hec. 363 (ἐφιστάναι).
ἐφεστῶτα (m.) Andr. 547.
ἐφεστῶσι(ν) (m.) Alc. 547. IT 726.
καθέστηκ/χ(α) Med. 507. Hel. 275.
καθέστηκας Andr. 236.
καθέστηκ/χ(ε)(ν) Hipp. 91. HF 142. Phoen. 956.
καθέσταμεν Or 1330. IA 719. 1272.
καθέστατε Ba. 1261.
καθεστᾶσιν Or. 602.
καθέστατον Phoen. 1273.
καθεστάναι Hi. 341. Phoen. 87.
καθεστώτων (nt.) HF 205.
μεθέστηκας Ba. 944.
μεθέστηκ(ε)(ν) Med. 898. (911) (καθέστηκεν). 1295. Heracl. 487. 796.
παρέστηχ(ε) Hec. 229.
παρεστάναι Alc. 211 (παριστάναι). Med. 887. Heracl. 564.

παρεστώς Alc. 1011. Rh. 782.
παρεστῶτος (m.) Phoen. 1409.
παρεστῶτας Phoen. 1309.
παρεστώσας Hel. 484. [Or. 1024] (1024 non habuit Σ).
παρεστώτων (nt.) Andr. 94. Ion 929.
παρεστῶσιν (nt.) Andr. 1233. Hi. 1042.
ξυνεστῶτος (m.) IA 87.
ξυνεστῶτος (nt.) Alc. 797.
ὑφειστήκει Andr. 1114.
κέχασται El. 616.
κεχαυμένον (m.) Cycl. 457.
ἐγκεχαυμένους Cycl. 393.
κέκλημαι Hipp. 2. Hec. 480-1.
κέκλησαι HF 501.
κέκληται El. 366. IT 493.
κεκλήμεθα Ion 311.
κέκλησθ(ε) Hel. 1447.
κεκλῆσθαι Hec. 552. Ion 75. 1594.
κεκλημένος Andr. 75. Hec. 625. El. 899 (899 del. Naber). HF 31. Ion 283. Rh. 298.
κεκλημένη Alc. 637. Ion 9.
κεκλημένῳ (m.) [HF 1291] (1291-3 (del. Wilamowitz).
κεκλημένοι IT 570.
κεκλημένους Hi. 626.
κεκμηκότων (m.) Hi. 756. Tro. 96.
κεκαρτέρηται Hipp. 1457.
κέκαρσαι Hec. 910.
κεκαρμένος Or. 458.
κεκαρμένῳ (nt.) El. 108.
κεκαρμένους El. 515.
κέκραται Cycl. 557. (Med. 138) (κέκρανται).
κεκερτομημένη Hi. 321.
κέκευθε(ν) [IA 112] (105-114 seclusit Murray). Rh. 171. 621.
κεκεύθατε Ion 1389.
κεκεύθασ(ι) Hec. 880.
κεκίνηται Andr. 1226. Rh. 89.
κεκλήρωσθ(ε) Tro. 240.
κεκλήμεθα (Hel. 977) (κεκλήμεθ').
κεκλημένα (f.) (Andr. 502) (κεκλιμένα).
ἐκκεκλήμεθα HF 330.
συγκεκλημένη (Hec. 487) (συγκεκλιμένη, συγκεκαλυμμένη).
συγκεκλημένον (nt.a.) (Ba. 1300) (συγκεκλημένον).
ἐπικεκλιμένας (gen.) (Tro. 801) (ἐπικεκλημένας).
κεκόμψευσαι [IA 333] (conj.) (ἐκκεκόμψευσαι).
συγκεκομμένος Cycl. 228.
κεκορυθμένος IA 1073.
κεκορυθμένον (nt.a.) Andr. 279.

κεκόσμηνται El. 1000.
κέκρανται Hipp. 1255. Andr. 1272. Ion 1010.
κεκρασπέδωται Ion 1423.
κέκριται Phoen. 1663.
κατακεκριμένον (nt.a.) Andr. 496.
κέκρυπται Ion 1351. Hel. 62.
κεκρυμμένην IT 826.
κεκρυμμένα (nt.n.) Ion 1362.
κεκρυμμένους Or. 1271.
κεκρυμμένας Hec. 1146.
κεκρυμμένα (nt.a.) Heracl. 404.
κεκρυμμένων (nt.) Med. 900. Ion 1405.
κεκρυμμένοις (nt.) Andr. 32.
κέκτημαι El. 1003.
κέκτηται Hipp. 397. Hel. 272. Rh. 701.
κεκτήμεθ(α) Hipp. 701. Hi. 264. 534. Or. 267. Ba. 202.
κεκτήμεσθ(α) Ion 379.
κέκτησθ(ε) (Tro. 1179) (κέκλησθ').
κέκτηνται Phoen. 555.
κεκτήμην IA 404.
κεκτῄμεθα Heracl. 282.
κέκτησο Or. 489.
κεκτῆσθαι Hec. 489. Or. 806.
κεκτημένος Hec. 397. Hi. 431. HF 468. Ion 322. 591.
κεκτημένη Med. 954. El. 927. Tro. 737. IT 1317. Or. 1109. 1204.
κεκτημένην Or. 865. IA 822.
κεκτημένῳ (m.) IA 715.
κεκτημένοι Hi. 217. HF 1302. IT 1171. Or. 932. Ba. 1343.
κεκτημένας Hipp. 414.
κεκτημένοις (m.) Phoen. 892. Or. 127.
ἀνακεκύφαμεν Cycl. 212.
κεκυρῶσθαι El. 1069.
ἐκκεκώφηται (Or. 1287) (ἐκκεκώφηνται, ἐκκεκώφωται, ἐκκεκώφωνται).
λέλογχα Tro. 282.
εἴληχας El. 668.
εἴληχ(ε)(ν) Hipp. 80. Tro. 31. IT 914.
λελόγχατε Tro. 243.
εἰληγμένας (Tro. 296) (εἰλεγμένας).
εἴληφα Ba. 226.
εἴληφας Med. 535.
λέληψαι (IA 363) (λέλησαι).
λελήμμεθα Ion 1113.
λελημμένος Cycl. 433. [Ba. 1102] (conj.) (λελησμένος).
λελημμένοι (Rh. 74) (λελησμένος).
κατείληφ(ε) Hipp. 1161.
λέλαμπεν Andr. 1026 (λάμπει). Tro. 1295.
λέληθας (Alc. 58) (ἐλήλυθας, πέφυκας).

λέληθ(ε)(ν) Ion 68. Or. 209.
λεληθέναι HF 985. Hel. 1174. Rh. 940.
λελήσμεθ(α) Phoen. 850.
'λελήσμεθα Ion 361.
ἐκλέλησμαι [Ba. 1272] (conj.) (ἐλέλησμαι).
ἐπιλέλησαι IA 1232.
ἐπιλελήσμεθ(α) Ba. 188.
λέλαχας Hec. 678.
λέλαχ(ε)(ν) Hipp. 55. Hec. 1110.
λέλεκται Alc. 706. Med. 354. 933. Heracl. 333. Hipp. 1021. Phoen. 1625. IA 400. 1207.
λελέχθαι Heracl. 812.
λελεγμένοι Hi. 334.
λελεγμένα (nt.n.) Med. 453.
λελεγμένους Ion 394.
λελεγμένα (nt.a.) Hipp. 244. [IA 1425] (del. Hermann).
λελεγμένων (nt.) IA 402.
λελεγμένοις (nt.) Hel. 82.
εἴρηκα Or. 678.
εἴρηκας Hipp. 608. Hi. 332. HF 1248.
εἴρηκεν Hec. 1178.
εἰρηκέναι Hel. 307.
εἴρηται Heracl. 117. Hec. 1284. Phoen. 1012. Or. 1202. IA 960.
εἰρῆσθαι Hec. 236 (†...†). El. 667.
εἰρημένοις (nt.) Phoen. 590.
εἰρημένα (nt.n.) Phoen. 1649.
εἰρημένα (nt.a.) Med. 64.
εἰρημένων (m.) Hi. 909.
εἰρημένων (nt.) Med. 869.
εἰρημένοις (nt.) El. 348.
ἀπείρηκεν Or. 91.
ἀπειρηκώς Med. 459.
ἀπειρηκός (nt.a.) Hipp. 1353.
λέλοιπε(ν) HF 124-5. 133. IT 562. Hel. 207-8. 227. Or. 390.
λέλειμμαι HF 1172. Hel. 1246.
λέλειψαι Or. 1085.
λέλειπται IT 612.
λελειμμένος Hi. 774. 904. Tro. 1123.
λελειμμένη Ion 680.
λελειμμένον (m.) Andr. 1247.
λελειμμένοι El. 1010. Or. 928.
λελειμμέναι IA 1181.
λελειμμένους Cycl. 307.
λελειμμένων (m.) Hel. 599. Or.690.
λελειμμένοις (m.) Heracl. 713. Hel. 737.
ἐκλέλοιπ/φ(α) Andr. 37. Tro. 452.
ἐκλέλοιπ(ε)(ν) HF 230. Ion 512. Hel. 320.
ἐκλελοιπέναι Ba. 217.
ἐκλελοιπότα (m.) Hipp. 52. Ba. 1054. IA 1099.
ἐλλέλοιπας El. 609.
περιλελειμμένους Hel. 426.
ὑπολελειμμένα (f.) Hi. 971.
λελῆσμεθ(α) Hel. 475.
λελησμένη Med. 256.
λελησμένης Tro. 373.
λελογισμένον (nt.a.) IA 386.
λελογισμένοι IA 922.
λελυπήμεσθ(α) Ion 1311.
λέλυμαι Hipp. 199.
ἐλέλυτο Ba. 697.
λελυμέναι Ba. 445.
μέμηνας Ba. 359.
μέμηνε IA 1264.
μεμηνώς IA 876.
μεμηνότα (m.) Or. 135.
μεμηνότας Ion 526. Ba. 301.
μεμαντεῦσθαι El. 981.
μεμειγμένον (m.) Cycl. 217.
μεμειγμέναι Ion 399.
ἀναμεμειγμέναι Ba. 37.
συμμεμειγμένος Cycl. 578.
μέμονε (IT 655) (μέμηνε). (IA 1495) (μέμηνε).
μέμνημαι HF 1122.
μέμνηται Hec. 992. El. 351.
μέμναται El. 189.
μεμνήμεθ(α) Alc. 531. Heracl. 741. Hec. 244. Hel. 723.
μέμνησ(ο) Heracl. 888. Andfr. 415. El. 1055. Hel. 120. Or. 125. Rh. 522.
μέμνησθε (imper.) Heracl. 314. 588.
μεμνημένοι Heracl. 469.
μεμνημένους Hi. 1169.
μεμνημένοις (m.) IA 840.
προμεμοχθήκασι Hi. 1234 .
μεμύθευται Ion 265.
νενευκώς [IA 1581].
νενικηκώς Phoen. 1416.
νενόμισται Alc. 111. Med. 170.
νενόστηκ(ε) IT 534.
κατέξανται Hipp. 274.
κατεξάνθαι Phoen. 1145.
ἐξενωμένον (m.) Ion 820.
ἀπεξενωμένοις (m.) Hec. 1221.
ὠγκωμένος El. 381.
ἐξωγκωμένοι Andr. 703.
ἐξωγκωμένοις (nt.) IA 921.
ἀνεφγμένας Hipp. 56.
οἶδ(α) Cycl. 104. 132. 321. 639. 646. 650. Alc. 48. 522. 524. 748. 796. 874. 1075. Med. [39] (38-43 del. Dindorf). 73. 94. 215. 377. 718. 880. 941. 948. 963. 1010. 1066. 1272. Heracl.

5. 90. 198. 199. 204. 386. 595. 717. Hipp. 92. 271. 344. 517. 599. 904. 967. 981. 1004. 1033. 1091. 1091. Andr. 72. Hec. 242. 397. 585. 698. 999. Hi. 109. 518. 933. El. 299. 627. 684. 693. 752. 756. [977] (conj.) (ἐγὼ δὲ). 1076. 1125. 1210. HF 166. 511. 515. 1015. 1108. 1142. Tro. 70. 163. 246. 431. 717. 894. 898. IT 247. 544. 546. 659. 819. [852] (conj.) (ἐγώ). 852. Ion 311. 543. 935. 938. 943. 988. Hel. 253. 415. 631. 794. 823. 965. Phoen. [144] (141-144 del. Schumacher). 413. 633. 716.1617. Or. 409. [546] (conj.) (ἐγὼ δ'). 1180. 1184. 1333. 1360. (1499) (οὐ κάτοιδα). Ba. 463. 1269. 1367. IA 643. 652. 652. 695. 868. 1116. 1141. Rh. 79. 284. 442. 573. 800. 858. 866.

οἶδας Alc. 780 (†οἶδας†).

οἶσθ(α) Cycl. 131. Alc. 523. 677. Med. 600. 716. 1306. Heracl. 451. 471. Hipp. 91. 309. 1315. Andr. 563. Hec. 110. 225. 239. 708. 998. 1008. 1266. Hi. 116. 932. El. 541. 766. Tro. 69. 235. 292. 1172. IT 248. 517. 592. 759. 812. 814. 1203. Ion 30. 363. 794. 801. 936. 987. 999. 1029. Hel. 98. 315. 793. 877. 1198. 1233. Phoen. 859. 1084. 1357. Ba. 358. 462. 506. IA 325. 337. 725. 867. 1117. Rh. 20. 269. 572. 689.

οἶδ(ε)(ν) Alc. 145. Med. 62. 664. Heracl. 719. Hipp. 56. Hec. [602] (599-602 del. Sakorraphos). 674. El. 270. 271. HF 1. 616. 617. Tro. 642. IT 251. 475. 477. 1205. Ion 50. 306. 346. Hel. 530. 862. 1249. Ba. 174. IA 129. 524. Rh. 641.

ἴσμεν Heracl. 658. Hipp. 804. Hi. 487. IT 100 (†ὧν οὐδὲν ἴσμεν†). 1296. Ion 1252. IA [106] (105-114 seclusit Murray). Rh. 77.

ἴστε Heracl. 88. Hipp. 790. 1154.

ἴσασι(ν) Cycl. 90. Med. 476. 1372. 1373. Heracl. 670. 671. Hipp. 453. 454. El. 356. 1068. [IT 539] (conj.) (φασὶν). 671.

ᾔδη Cycl. 649. Heracl. 987. Hipp. 405. Tro. 655. Rh. 952.

ᾔδησθα Cycl. 108. El. 926.

ᾔδει(ν) Ion 1187. 1361.

ᾖσμεν Hec. 1112.

ᾔδετε Ba. 1345.

ᾖσαν Rh. 855. Cycl. 231.

εἰδῇς Andr. 589. 1253. Hec. 175. 1243. Tro. 1029. 1041. Ion 35. 804. Or. 534. 1443. 1628. [IA 1425] (1425 del. Herwerden). Rh. 420.

εἰδῇ Hipp. 729. Andr. 146. Ion 679. Or. 1350.

εἰδῆτ(ε) Phoen. 997.

εἰδῶσι HF 245. Tro. 86.

εἰδείην HF 617. Rh. 476.

εἰδείης Hi. 622. 623. HF 1196. Phoen. 1347.

εἰδείη Andr. 37. Hec. 1149.

ἴσθ(ι) Alc. 1063. 1130. Med. 593. 696. 1362. Heracl. 598. 983. Hipp. 304. 519. 656. 1331. Andr. 368. [Hi. 306] (conj.) (νυνὶ δὲ). El. 609. HF 1125. Hel. 452. 795. Or. 627. Ba. 816. IA 1005. Rh. 80.

ἴστω Alc. 150. 438. El. 53. 921 (921-4 del. Hartung). IT 1077. Ion 1478. Phoen. 1677. IA 1413.

ἴστε Andr. 726. Rh. 816.

ἴστον Hel. 1684.

εἰδέναι Alc. 140. Med. 80. 300. 676. Heracl. 649. 945. Hipp. 1335. Hec. 218. 747. 893. 1001. 1006. Hi. 1052. El. 894 († ... †). Tro. 885. IT 542. 956. 1295. Ion 317. Hel. 322. 763. 1523. Phoen. 1328. [1358] (del. Wecklein). Or. 259. 478. 747. Ba. 472. 474. IA 325. 671. 890. Rh. 683.

εἰδώς Alc. 421. 1107. Heracl. 997. Andr. 959. El. 292. 404. 952. Ion 571. Hel. 618. Phoen. 53. Ba. 73. IA 1065.

εἰδυῖα Or. 1320. Rh. 935.

εἰδότ/θ(α) Ion 313. Or. 1183.

εἰδότος (m.) IT 1048.

εἰδότι (m.) Hi. 396.

εἰδότες Rh. 65.

εἰδόσιν (m.) Hec. 670. IT 575. 1233. Rh. 973.

διειδέναι Med. 518.

ἐξειδέναι Hel. 922.

ἐξειδώς Phoen. 95.

κάτοιδ(α) Hipp. 1245. 1248. Or. 1521.

κάτοισθα Alc. 807. Tro. 909. Or. 1183.

κατειδώς Med. 992. Hi. 1033.

ξύνοιδ(α) [Ion 288] (conj.) (ξέν' οἶδ'). Or. 396.

σύνοισθα Med. 495.

ξ/σύνοιδε Hipp. 40. El. 43. HF 368.

ξύνισμεν Hi. 1176.

ξυνῄδει Ion 956.
ξυνειδῇ Hipp. 425.
σύνισθι Hec. 870.
ξυνειδότα (m.) Heracl. 1001.
ξυνειδότος (m.) El. 88.
ἐξῳδηκότα (m.) Cycl. 227.
κατῳκήκασιν Ba. 752.
ᾤκισται Hec. 2. Tro. 435 (†...†).
ᾠκίσθαι [IA 662] (con.) (ὠκῆσθαι). [706] (conj.) (οἰκεῖσθαι).
ᾠμωγμένον (nt.a.) Ba. 1285.
ᾠνωμένας Ba. 687.
ἐξῳνωμένας Ba. 814.
ὠλβισμένοι IA 51.
ὄλωλ(α) Med. 704. Hipp. 1408. 1447. 1457. Hec. 784. IT 704. 1074. Hel. 1194. Phoen. 1689.
ὄλωλας Hipp. 368. Hec. 513. 668. Tro. 677. 1181.
ὄλωλε(ν) Alc. 140. 415. 518. 821. Med. 1035. 1125. Hipp. 788. 801. Hec. 312. El. 12. Tro. 9. 630. 630. 631. 730. 1292. IT 374. 532. 575. 575. 985. Hel. 280. 1212. 1216. Phoen. 1313. Ba. 1030.
ὀλώλαμεν Cycl. 665. Andr. 903. Rh. 761.
ὀλωλέναι Hel. 308.
ὀλωλότα (m.) Cycl. 444. El. 29. Rh. 953.
ὀλωλότας Hi. 16. 558. Rh. 755.
ὀλωλότων (m.) Hi. 107. 1128. Phoen. 1343.
ἀπόλωλα Cycl. 587. Hipp. 1350.
ἀπόλωλε(ν) Hipp. 1140. Phoen. 922.
ἀπολώλαμεν Cycl. 194.
διόλωλας Tro. 1255.
διόλωλε (Rh. 561) (ὄλωλε).
διολώλαμεν Andr. 1176. IA 1353.
ἐξολώλαμεν HF 1392.
ὀμώμοχ(ε) Hipp. 612.
ὀμώμοται Rh. 816.
ὠνόμασται El. 935.
ὠνομασμένος IT 492 (†...†).
ἐπωνομασμένα (nt.n.) HF 1329.
ὥπλισται Heracl. 672.
ὡπλισμένος Phoen. 267.
ὡπλισμένον (m.) Ion 993.
ὡπλισμένοι Andr. 1118.
ὡπλισμέναι Ba. 733.
ὡπλισμένους [Phoen. 144] (141-144 del. Schumacher).
ὡπλισμένοις (m.) Heracl. 171.
ἀνθωπλισμένοι Hi. 666.
ὠργισμένος Hipp. 1413.

κατώρθωνται Hipp. 680.
ὡρισμένη Ion 295.
ὡρισμένοι Hec. 801.
ὡρμημένος Ba. 630.
ἀφώρμηται Or. 844.
ἐξωρμημένου (m.) El. 1070.
ὥρμισται Or. 242.
ὡρμισμένος HF 1094.
ὡρμισμένη IT 1328.
ὡρμισμένον (m.) HF 203.
ἐξώρμισαι Phoen. 846.
συνωφρυωμένῳ (nt.) Alc. 777.
συνωφρυωμένοις (m.) Alc. 800.
πέπαται Ion 675.
πεπᾶσθαι Andr. 641. HF 1426. (Or. 1197) (πεπτᾶσθαι).
πέπονθα Alc. 816. Hec. 1176. Tro. 468. Or. 1616. Ba. 642. IA 501. 847.
πέπονθας Alc. 654. 873. Med. 1353. Hipp. 438. IT 658.
πέπονθε(ν) Alc. 1043. El. 1312. Ion 330. 342. 1379.
πεπόνθαμεν Hec. 1097. El. 672. HF 916. 1128. Hel. 22. IA 985. Rh. 742.
πεπόνθατ(ε) Cycl. 638. Hi. 528.
πεπόνθασ(ι) IA 366.
πεπονθέναι Hi. 790. Rh. 803.
πεπονθώς Phoen. 467.
πεπονθότος (m.) Hipp. 1257.
πεπονθότες Tro. 894. IT 539.
πεπαυμένη El. 1108.
πεπαυμένοι Med. 46. Tro. 524.
πέποιθ(α) Cycl. 274. Alc. 853. 1115. Med. 318. 734. Andr. 269. Hi. 331. El. 583. Phoen. 272. 272. 634. Rh. 331. 991.
πέποιθας Med. 733. Andr. 268. Rh. 330.
πέποιθ(ε)(ν) Med. 1299. Hipp. 1039. HF 106.
πεποιθώς Hel. 154. (Phoen. 600) (πεποιθώς).
πεποιθότα (m.) Phoen. 704.
πέπεισμαι El. 578.
πεπεισμένη Hel. 1190.
πέπηγε HF 1395.
πεπωκότ(α) (m.) Cycl. 536.
πεπωκότι (m.) Cycl. 588.
πέπτωκα HF 1092. Ion 1438.
πέπτωκας Ba. 813.
πέπτωκε(ν) Andr. 653. El. 869. HF 983. Tro. 17. Ion 419. Or. 88. IA 1280. Rh. 747.
πεπτώκαμεν IT 1172.
πεπτώκατ(ε) Ba. 605.

πεπτωκότα (m.) HF 597.
πεπτωκότες Phoen. 881. Rh. 769.
πεπτωκότα (nt.a.) Hipp. 718. (IA 1343) (πεπραγμένα).
ἐμπέπτωκ(ε) Hec. 857. IA 808. Rh. 657.
ἐμπεπτώκαμεν (IA 443) (ἐπεπτώκαμεν).
συμπέπτωκας Tro. 1036.
πεπλασμένον (nt.n.) [Ion 830] (830-1 del. Dindorf).
πεπλεγμένη Andr. 995.
συμπεπλέγμεθα Ba. 800.
συμπεπλεγμένους Cycl. 225.
πέπλευχ(α) Hel. 405. 461.
πεπλεύχαμεν IT 1040.
πεπλωκότα (m.) Hel. 532.
πεπλευκότας Cycl. 18.
πέπληγμαι Hipp. 342. 934. HF 1105.
πεπλήγμεθα Alc. 405. Rh. 867.
πεπληγμένος Alc. 856. Med. 556. 1387.
πεπληγμέναι El. 1270.
ἐκπεπληγμένος IT 795.
χἀκπεπληγμένη Hipp. 38. IA 1535.
ἐκπεπληγμένην Hel. 1397.
ἐκπεπληγμέναι Ba. 604.
παραπεπληγμένῳ (m.) HF 935.
ἐκπεπνευκότας Phoen. 1151.
πεποίκιλται Hi. 187.
πέπρωται Alc. 21. Or. 1654.
πεπρωμένος IA 882.
πεπρωμένη Alc. 147. Hec. 43.
πεπρωμένον (m.) Tro. 340.
πεπρωμένην Alc. 695. El. 1290.
πεπρωμένον (nt.a.) Andr. 1268. IT 1437.
πεπρωμένου (nt.) Hel. 1660. Rh. 634.
πεπρωμένῳ Ion 1582.
πεπρωμέν(α) (nt.a.) Ion 1388.
πεπρωμένοισιν (m.) Hel. 1646.
διαπεπόρθηται Hel. 111.
ἐκπεπόρθμευται Hel. 1179. 1517.
πεπόταται Hipp. 564.
ἐκπεπόταμαι El. 177.
πέπραγα HF 1375.
πέπραγεν Hi. 644 (πεπραγμέν').
πεπραγότα (m.) Hi. 329. HF 707.
πεπραγότος (m.) Rh. 804.
πεπραγότι (m.) Alc. 961.
πεπραγότες Heracl. 499.
πεπραγότας Alc. 246. [Or. 87] (87 del. Wecklein).
πεπραγόσιν (m.) (Tro. 608) (πεπονθόσι).
πέπραχται Med. 364. (1064) (πέπρωται). Hipp. 680. 778 (om. DE). Hec. 1038. Phoen. 1354. Rh. 756.
πεπρᾶχθαι Phoen. 1331.
πεπραγμέν(α) (nt.n.) Hec. 732.
πεπραγμένων (nt.) Alc. 88. Heracl. 667. 870. IT 1299.
πεπραγμένοις (nt.) Heracl. 605.
πεπραγμένοισιν (nt.) Phoen. 1338.
διαπεπράγμεθ(α) Hel. 858.
διαπεπραγμένῳ (m.) Ion 353.
διαπεπραγμένα (nt.a.) Hel. 1177.
ἐπτερωμένον (nt.a.) IT 1346 (†...†).
ἀνεπτέρωκα Hel. 633.
ἀνεπτέρωκε Or. 876 (ἀνεπτέρωσε).
ἐπτόηται Ba. 214.
ἐπτοημένην IA 1029.
ἐπτοημένῳ (m.) Or. 1505.
ἐπτοημένας El. 1255. Tro. 559.
ἀνεπτύχθαι El. 357.
πέπυσμαι Hel. 1173.
πέπυσται Andr. 70. IA 425.
πεπύσμεθ(α) (IA 1141) (πέπεισμ' ἃ σύ).
πέπυσθε Rh. 598.
πεπυσμένος Heracl. 1037. IA 890. Rh. 806.
πεπυσμένη Hel. 1076.
πεπυσμένου (m.) Rh. 628.
πεπυσμένοι Andr. 1101.
πεπυσμέναι Ion 1120.
πεπύργωσαι HF 238. Or. 1568.
πεπύργωται Rh. 122.
ἐρράφθαι [Ba. 243] (conj.) (ἐρράφη).
ἔρρωγεν Hipp. 1338.
κατερρώγασιν Alc. 1068.
ἔρριπται Med. 1404.
ἐρρώμεθα Heracl. 636.
ἐρρωμένους Rh. 668.
σέσηπεν El. 319.
σεσίγηται Alc. 78.
ἐσκευάσμεθα Hi. 1057.
ἀνεσκευάσμεθ(α) El. 602.
παρεσκευάσμεθ(α) HF 1241.
παρεσκευασμένον (nt.n.) Cycl. 214.
παρεσκευασμένον (m.) Heracl. 691.
παρεσκευασμένου Cycl. 170.
ἐσκεμμένοι Heracl. 147.
ἐσκυθισμένον (m.) El. 241.
ἀπεσκυθισμένην Tro. 1026.
ἐσπανίσμεθ(α) Or. 1055.
ἔσπαρται HF 1098.
ἐσπεῖσθαι Med. 1140.
ἐπέσταλκ(ε) Phoen. 863.
τἀπεσταλμένα (nt.a.) (Tro. 1149) (ἀπεσταλμένα).
συνέσταλμαι HF 1417.
ἐστερημένη Med. 286. 1036.
ἐστερημένοι Med. 1023.

ἀπεστερημένοι Heracl. 51.
ἀπεστερημένοιν (m.) Phoen. 1403.
ἀπεστερημένοις (nt.) Alc. 378.
ἀνέστεμμαι Hipp. 806.
ἐξεστεμμένα (nt.a.) HF 526.
ἐστολισμένον (m.) Hi. 659.
ἐστολισμένας [IA 255] (conj.) (εὐστολισμένας).
ἐστομωμένη IT 287.
ἔστρωται Med. [41] (38-43 del. Dindorf). 380.
ἐπεστρατευμένου (m.) Phoen. 605.
ἀνέστραπται Hipp. 982.
ἐσφάλμεθ(α) Andr. 896.
ἐσφαλμένοι Hipp. 1414. HF 75.
ἐσφραγισμένοι HF 53. IT 1372.
σέσωκε [Ion 1386] (conj.) (ἔσωσε).
σέσωσμαι IA 1440.
σέσωται IT 607.
σεσώσμεθ(α) Hel. 1032. IA 916. 916.
σεσῶσθαι [IT 679] (conj.) (σε σώζεσθ').
σεσωσμένος Or. 473.
σεσώσμένη [Or. 1632] (1631 sq. suspecti Paleio).
σεσωσμένον (m.) Hel. 537.
σεσωσμένην Hel. 795.
σεσωσμένης Phoen. 1089.
σεσωμένοι Heracl. 432.
σεσωσμένοι Or. 1152.
σεσωσμένους Phoen. 1211.
σεσωφρόνηκας (Tro. 350) (σεσωφρονίκασ').
τεταρβηκώς IA 857.
τέταγμαι Cycl. 30.
τέτακται Tro. 264. Rh. 612.
τετάγμεθα Alc. 48. Ion 1040.
τέταχθ(ε) Tro. 1260.
τεταγμένον (m.) Hi. 661.
τεταγμένην Ba. 723.
τεταγμένου (m.) Rh. 520.
τεταγμένους Hi. 657.
προστετάχθαι Phoen. 738.
τεταύρωσαι Ba. 922.
τέταται Tro. 600 (τέτακται).
τεταμένην [Hel. 1673] (conj.) (τεταγμένη).
τεταμέναν Or. 983.
τετέλεσται Alc. 131 ([†...†]: 132-5 del. Wheeler).
τἀντεταλμέν(α) (nt.a.) (Phoen. 1648) (τὰ τεταλμέν').
τετύχθαι El. 457.
τεταχότας Hi. 1140.
τετηχότα (nt.a.) Cycl. 246.
ἐκτέτηκα Hec. 433.
συντέτηχ(ε) Med. 689.
συντετηκός (nt.a.) El. 240.
τέτρωται Rh. 847.
τετρώμεθ(α) Rh. 849.
τετρωμένοι Rh. 836.
τετρωμένους Phoen. 1431.
τετόλμηκ(ε) Med. 695.
τέτραπται Hipp. 246.
τεθράμμεθ(α) Heracl. 578. Phoen. 498.
τεθραμμένη El. 65.
τεθραμμένον (m.) IA 948.
τεθραμμέναι Hipp. 1240. Rh. 176.
τεθραμμένοις (m.) HF 300.
ἐκτεθραμμένον (m.) Ion 823.
ἐκτεθραμμένοι Hi. 1222.
συντέθραψαι Hel. 1036.
ὑβρίσμεθ(α) Cycl. 665.
ὑβρισμέν(α) (nt.a.) Phoen. 1112.
πέφηνα IA 973.
πέφηνε(ν) Hipp. 594. Tro. 619. Io 816. [Ba. 182] (182 del. Dobree).
πεφηνότα (m.) Ion 978.
πεφηνότι (m.) Ion 1188.
πέφανται Med. 769.
εἰσενήνεχται Ion 1340.
πέφευγα Or. 1369.
πέφευγας Hec. 345
πέφευγε(ν) Alc. 957. Heracl. 452. Hel. 1645. Or. 1506.
πεφεύγασι Cycl. 679.
πεφευγότος (m.) Ba. 627.
πεφευγότας Hel. 398. 1185.
διαπέφευγε Ba. 642.
κἀκπέφευγε (Phoen. 1203) (καὶ πέφευγε).
ἐκπεφεύγαμεν Ion 556.
ἐκπεφεύγασιν Hel. 1622.
ἐφθαρμένος HF 932.
ἐφθαρμένους Cycl. 300. IT 276.
ἐφθαρμένων (m.) Tro. 1164.
διέφθορα Med. 349 (διέφθειρα).
διέφθορεν Hipp. 1014 (διέφθειρεν). IT 719.
διέφθαρκ(ε) Med. 226.
διέφθαρσαι Hel. 1192.
διέφθαρται Hipp. 376.
διεφθάρμεθα IT 1028.
ἐξεφθαρμένη Hec. 669.
πέφρακται Phoen. 733.
πεφραγμένον (m.) Phoen. 1468.
πεφραγμένοι Or. 1413. IA 1387.
πεφραγμένους IA 826.
πεφραγμένας Or. 761.
ἐπεισέφρηκε El. 1033.
πεφρικότα (m.) Phoen. 1105.
πεφρικός (nt.a.) Phoen. 1121.

πεφροντικός (nt.a.) Alc. 773.
πεφυρμένου (nt.) (Hi. 201) (ἐκπεφυρμένου).
πεφυρμένοι El. 1173. Or. 1411.
πεφυρμένας Alc. 496.
ἀναπεφυρμέν(α) (nt.n.) Ba. 742.
συμπεφυρμένον (nt.n.) Med. 1199.
πέφυκ/χ(α) Heracl. 563. Hipp. 287. 1031. 1075. 1191. Hec. 743. HF 844. Ion 261. 540. 1477. Hel. 728. 998. Phoen. 619. 1612. Rh. 395. 423.
πέφυκας Med. 285. 345. Heracl. 258. 541. Andr. 238. 461. El. 1102. IT 610. Ion 259. 1568. Hel. 1106. Phoen. 86. 609. (Or. 1528) (πέφηνας).
πέφυκ/χ(ε) Med. 294. 581. Heracl. 2. Hipp. 1038. Andr. [7] (del. Valckenaer). 636. Hec. 332. Hi. 85. IT 916. Ion 240. 1601. Phoen. 248. 916. Or. 483. 484. 540. 754. 1167. 1202. Ba. 860. IA 526. Rh. 107.
πεφύκαμεν Med. 384. 407. Heracl. 509. [Hec. 1186] (1185-6 del. Dindorf). Ion 400.
πεφύκασ(ι) Andr. 377. Ion 1622. IA 953.
πεφύκῃ Ion 441.
πεφυκέναι Alc. 641. Med. 299. Heracl. 298. Hipp. 13. 963. El. 523. HF 1344. Ion 70. 291. 536. 1534. Hel. 489. Phoen. 1601.
πεφυκώς Andr. 631. El. 338. Ion 292. Hel. 440. Phoen. 908. Or. 5.
πεφυκός (nt.n.) Ba. 896.
πεφυκότ(α) (m.) (Ion 780) (παραπεφυκότα). IA 501.
πεφυκότες Cycl. 28. Rh. 185. 413.
πεφυκότας Hipp. 942. Or. 1329.
πεφυκότων (m.) Andr. 904.
'κπέφυκ(α) IT 807. Ion 542.
ἐκπέφυκε Phoen. 941.
ἐκπεφυκέναι Alc. 325. Tro. 767. Ion 1533.
ἐκπεφυκότι (m.) Ba. 44.
ἐμπέφυκε(ν) Med. 519. 1345. Hipp. 967. Andr. 93. IA 839.
προσπεφυκέναι Ba. 921.
κεχαρμένος Cycl. 367.
κεχαρημένον (m.) IA 200.
κεχαρμένην El. 1077. Or. 1122.
κεχαρμένοι Tro. 529.
κεχαρισμένα (nt.n.) HF 890.
κεχύμεθα Hi. 827.
κεχυμένος HF 1052. Ba. 456.
κέχρησαι IA 382.
κεχρήμεθα Med. 334 (†...†).
κεχρημένος Hi. 457.
κεχρημένοι Cycl. 88. Hipp. 349.
κεχρημέναι Ion 1199.
κεχρημένους Med. 347.
κεχρημένοις (m.) Cycl. 98. IA 89.
κεχρημέναις Hi. 327.
κεχρῴσμεθα Med. 497.
κέχρωσαι Hec. 912.
ἐψηφισμένους Heracl. 141.

Aristophanes

Text: for the plays the Budé-text of V. Coulon (Vols. 1-5, Paris [7]1960, [5]1964, [6]1963, [5]1962, [5]1982); for the fragments (F) Vol. III 2 *Aristophanes* of *Poetae Comici Graeci*, edd. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin/New York 1984). The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Index Aristophaneus*, ed. O.J. Todd (Cambridge 1932; reprinted Hildesheim 1962).

εἰσηγγελμέναις (Eq. 655) (ἠγγελμένας).
ἠγκυλωμένος Av. 1180.
κατέαγε Ach. 1180. Th. 403.
κατεαγότος (m.) Pl. 545
ἠγρίωται Ran. 898.
ἠγριωμένους Pax 620.
ἠγωνίσμεθα Vesp. 993.
ἠδίκηκ(α) Nub. 497. F 278,1.
ἠδίκηκας Nub. 1080 (ἠδίκησας).
ἠδίκηκε(ν) [Vesp. 244] (conj.) (ἠδίκησεν).
ἠδικηκόσιν (m.) Pl. 805a.
ἠδικημένη Pl. 428.
ἠδικημέναι Nub. 576.
ἡματωμένω (m.) Ran. 476.
ἠνιγμένος Eq. 196.
ἠρήμεσθα Av. 1577.
ἠρημένην Eccl. 714.
ἐπῆρται Lys. 937.
ἐπηρμένου (m.) Nub. 810.
ᾔσθηνται Vesp. 673 (ᾔσθοντο).
παρῃκόνηνται Ran. 1116.

ὑπερηκόντικεν Pl. 666 (ὑπερηκόντισεν).
ἀκήκοας Nub. 738. Av. 1439. 1574. Th. 164. F 103,2.
ἀκήκοεν Pl. 334.
ἠκηκόη Vesp. 800. Pax 616.
ἠκριβωμένην Ran. 1483.
ἐξήλικας Nub. 33.
ἀπηλλαγμένος Pax 1128.
ἡμάρτηκεν Ran. 1135.
ἡμαρτήκαμεν Pl. 961.
ἐξήμβλωκας Nub. 137.
τοὐξημβλωμένον (nt.a.) Nub. 139.
ἐξηνθισμέναι Lys. 43.
ἀπήντηκε Lys. 420.
ἐνηντιώμεθα Av. 385.
ἐξηπάτηκα [Eccl. 949] (conj.) (ἐξηπάτησα).
ἐξηπάτηκεν [Vesp. 1291] (conj.) (ἐξηπάτησεν). Ran. 1404.
ἐξηπάτηται Vesp. 992.
ἡμμένον (m.) Pl. 301.
ἡμμένην Nub. 1490. Lys. 316.
ἡμμένας Pl. 1194.
ἐνημμένος Nub. 72. Eccl. 80. F 650.
ἐνημμένη Pax 1032.
ἐνημμένον (m.) Ran. 430.
ἐνημμένῳ (nt.) Pax 1225.
ἐνημμένους Av. 1250.
ἠρίσταμεν F 513.
ἠρίστηται Ran. 377.
περιηρμοσμέναι Eccl. 274.
ἥρπακας Pl. 372.
ἡρπακώς Eq. 428.
ἠρτημένην Pax 1247.
ἐξηρτημένας Eccl. 494.
ὑπηργμένων (nt.) Lys. 1159.
παρεξηυλημένους Ach. 681.
βέβηκεν Eccl. 913.
βεβηκώς Eq. 1039.
ἀντιβεβηκώς (Eq. 767) (ἀντιβεβληκώς, ἀντικεχληκώς, ἀντιβεβλημένος).
διαβεβήκασ(ι) Lys. 60.
διαβεβηκότος (m.) Eq. 77.
ἐκβέβηκεν Eccl. 505.
βεβαλάνωκε Eccl. 361. F 262.
βεβαλάνωται Av. 1159.
βεβαλανωμένον (m.) Eccl. 370.
βέβληκ(ε) Ach. 171. Ran. 1400.
ἀναβεβλήμεθα Eccl. 983.
ἀποβεβληκότι (m.) Vesp. 1312.
διαβέβληκ/χ(ε)(ν) Th. 390. 411.
διαβεβλημένου (m.) Vesp. 950.
καταβέβληκεν F 17,2.
παραβεβλημένος Pl. 243.
βέβαπται Pax 1176.
βεβασανισμένα (nt.a.) F 402,9.
βεβρωκότες Vesp. 462.
βεβίνηκας Th. 35.
καταβεβίνησο Th. 1215.
βεβούλευται Lys. 513 (βουλεύεται).
βεβουλευμένα (nt.a.) Eccl. 172.
ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι Th. 82.
προβεβούλευται Eccl. 623.
-βεβρασμένην F 590,67-8.
ἀναβεβρασμένην F 51.
βεβυσμένη F 733.
βεβυσμένον (nt.a.) Ach. 463. Th. 506.
ξυμβεβυσμένοι Vesp. 1110.
γεγάμηκεν Lys. 595.
γέγηθα Pax 335.
γέγηθεν Eq. 1317.
γεγηθώς Th. 510.
γέγονας Eq. 218.
γέγον(ε)(ν) Th. 514. 746. Eccl. 649. Pl. 188. 813. 813.
γεγονέναι Eq. 446. Ran. 1185.
γεγῶσ(α) Lys. 641.
γεγονυῖα Av. 830.
γεγένημαι Eq. 764. Nub. 722. Th. 246. 846. Pl. 148.
γεγένησαι Eq. 788. 1255. Pax 915. Pl. 1043.
γεγένηται Ach. 641. Eq. 945. 1324. Pax 737 (γένηται). Eccl. 551. 679. Pl. 339.
γεγένησθε Eccl. 519.
γεγένηνται Ran. 1031. Pl. 569.
ἐγεγενήμην Eq. 1349.
γεγενῆσθ(αι) Ach. 650. Pax 704. Lys. 886. Eccl. 457.
γεγενημένος Eq. 1044.
συγγεγένημαι Eq. 1291.
ἔγνωκ(α) F 231.
ἔγνωκας Eq. 871. Nub. 1095.
ἔγνωκε Vesp. 744.
κατεγλωττίσμένον (nt.n.) Th. 131.
κατεγλωττισμένην Eq. 352.
γεγράφθαι Pl. 1167.
γεγραμμένας Ach. 992.
γεγραμμένην Ran. 537.
γεγραμμένον (nt.a.) Vesp. 97.
γεγραμμένῳ (m.) [Av. 805] (conj.) (συγγεγραμμένῳ).
γεγραμμένους Ach. 532.
διαγέγραπται Nub. 774.
ἐνεγέγραπτο Ran. 933.
ὑπογεγραμμένη F 910.
δέδηγμαι Ach. 1.
δέδοικα Ach. 370. Eq. 28. 112. 395. Nub. 493. 507. 1133. Vesp. 427. 630. Pax 173. Lys. 620. [Ran. 1260] (1260

del. Meineke). Eccl. 338. 585. 870. 1063. Pl. 199. F 563. 926,1.
δέδοικας Vesp. 628. 629. Th. 202. 1186.
δέδοικε Vesp. 1358.
δέδοικεν F 79.
δεδοίκατε Eccl. 181.
δεδίασιν Eq. 224. 1113.
δέδιθ(ι) Eq. 230. Vesp. 373.δεδοικέναι Nub. 1461. Vesp. 1091. Pl. 354.
δεδοικώς Pax 607.
δεδιώς Eccl. 643.
δεδιότε Pl. 448.
Ὑποδεδιώς Av. 65.
ἐδεδοίκεις Pl. 684.
δεδείπνηκας Eccl. 1133
δεδειπνάναι F 260. 480,2.

δεδαρμένην Lys. 158.
δεδεγμένος Ach. 478.
δεδεμένοι Av. 1087.
δεδεμένας Av. 1083.
δεδεμένοις Eq. 469.
ἀποδεδρακότι (m.) Vesp. 1310.
διαδεδρακότας Ach. 601.
δέδωκεν Eq. 841.
ἐνδέδωκας Eq. 847.
παραδέδωκας Vesp. 1130.
παραδεδόσθαι Eccl. 555.
προδεδόμεθ(α) Av. 328.
δεδόχησαι Vesp. 726.
δέδοκται Vesp. 485. Eccl. 457.
δεδογμένους (Eccl. 759) (δεδιδαγμένους).
δεδογμένοις (m.) Eccl. 763. 764.
δέδρακας Eq. 1336. Vesp. 1392. Pax 1199. Av. 325. Ran. 479. 1472.
δέδρακε Vesp. 827. 909. 1536. Av. 13. Th. 545. 703. Pl. 868.
δεδράκαμεν Th. 519.
δεδράκατε Eccl. 59.
δεδράκατον Pl. 429.
δεδρακώς Eq. 823. Av. 325.
δέδραται Pax 1039.
δεδραμένα (nt.a.) Eccl. 579.
καταδεδυκώς (Vesp. 140) (καταδεδοικώς).
ὑποδέδυκεν Vesp. 188.
ὑποδεδυκότα (m.) Vesp. 182.
ἐγρήγορεν Lys. 306.
ἐγρηγόρειν (1°) Eccl. 32.
ἐγρηγόρεσαν Pl. 744 .
ἐξεγρήγορεν Av. 1413.
εἴθισμαι Eccl. 238. 265.
ᾐχάσμεσθα Av. 807.
ἐξῃχασμένος Eq. 230.

εἰργμένους Av. 1085 (εἰργομένους).
περιειργμένος (Lys. 810) (περιειργασμένος).
εἴωθε Ran. 14. Eccl. 282.
εἰώθασι Pax 730.
εἰωθέναι Vesp. 94.
εἰωθυῖ(α) Pax 853.
εἰωθότων (nt.) Ran. 1.
ἐξελήλακε Nub. 1472.
ἐξεληλακώς Nub. 828. 1471.
ἠμπόληκα Pax 367.
ἠμφιεσμένη Eccl. 879. 1057.
ἠμφιεσμένον (m.) Th. 92.
ἠμφιεσμένην Th. 840.
ἠμφιεσμένῳ (m.) Vesp. 1172.
ἔοικα Vesp. 1171.
ἔοικας Vesp. 1125. 1309. 1365. 1413. Av. 804. Pl. 826. F 496,2.
ἔοικε Ach. 240. 1038-9. Nub. 1034. Vesp. 495. 945. 994. 1360. 1415. Av. 265. 1340. 1417. Lys. 1106. Th. 38. 382. 687. 1010. Ran. 603. Eccl. 146. Pl. 76. 862. 1017. 1040. 1045. 1048. 1098. 1131. F 314. F 517,2.
εἴξασιν Nub. 341. 343. Av. 96. 383.
ᾔκειν (Av. 1298) (εἶκεν).
εἰκέναι Nub. 185 .
ἐοικέναι Vesp. 1142. F 663,2
εἰκώς Av. 697.
εἰκότας Vesp. 1321.
προσεικέναι Eccl. 1161.
εἴργασαι Th. 945.
εἴργασται Nub. 1266. Ran. 1023.
εἴργασθ(ε) Pl. 1113 (εἰργάσασθ').
εἰργασμένος Av. 1175. Ran. 1474.
εἰργασμένον (nt.n.) Eq. 844.
εἰργασμένην Ran. 1282.
εἰργασμένου (m.) Pl. 355.
ἐξειργασμένος Nub. 1393.
ᾐρεθισμένον (nt.n.) Vesp. 1104.
εἰσῄρρηκας Th. 1075.
ἐλήλυθα Eq. 682. Nub. 238.
ἐλήλυθας Ach. 877. Eq. 613. Nub. 832. Vesp. 1139. Eccl. 978. Pl. 966.
ἐλήλυθεν Nub. 544. Ran. 1164.
ἐληλύθει Eq. 1306.
διεληλυθώς Pax 826.
εἰσελήλυθεν (Vesp. 139) (ἐξελήλυθεν). Pax 1050. Th. 657. Pl. 872.
ἐξελήλυθα Pl. 965. Eccl. 331.
ἐξελήλυθας Lys. 707.
ἐξελήλυθεν Eccl. 325.
ἐπελήλυθεν Vesp. 636.
περιελήλυθα Pax 958.
συνεληλυθότες Lys. 621.

ἐδηδοκώς Eq. 362.
ἀπεδήδοκεν Ran. 984.
ἐξεδήδοκεν Vesp. 925.
κατεδήδοκεν Vesp. 838.
κατεδηδοκώς Pax 386.
ἐζωμευμένα (nt.n.) F 606,2.
ἠταιρηκότος Pax 11.
εὐδοκίμηκεν Nub. 1033 (εὐδοκίμησεν).
ηὕρηκα Nub. 764.
εὕρηκα F 684.
ηὑρημένα (nt.n.) Pl. 161.
ἀνηύρηκεν Ach. 1037.
ἐξηύρηκεν Pl. 1165.
ἐξηύρητο Av. 1144.
ἐξηυρημένην Nub. 137.
προσεξηύρηκε Eq. 1283.
εὐτρεπισμένα (nt.n.) (Pl. 626) (εὐπρεπισμένα).
εὐωχημένον (nt.n.) Vesp. 1306.
εὐωχημένοι Lys. 1224.
ἐζητημένον (nt.n.) (Eccl. 2) (ἐξητημένον).
ἀνεζητημένον (nt.n.) Lys. 26.
διεζήτηχ(α) Eq. 1292.
διεζητημένους Th. 439.
περιεζωσμέναι Av. 1148.
ἡττήμεθα Nub. 1103 (ἡττώμεθ').
ἡττημένος Eq. 658 (ἡττώμενος).
τεθέασαι Nub. 370.
τεθερμῶσθαι (Lys. 1079) (θῆρμῶσθαι).
τεθεώρηκα Vesp. 1188.
τέθνηκε Th. 876. 883. 885. Ran. 986.
τεθνάναι Ran. 1012.
τεθνηκέναι Pax 375. Ran. 613.
τεθνεώς Av. 476.
τεθνηκότα (m.) Ran. 171. 1476.
τεθνεῶτα (m.) F 696,3.
τεθνηκότος (m.) Ran. 67.
τεθνεῶτος (m.) Nub. 782. 838. Ran. 1028. 1140.
τεθνηκότες F 720.
τεθνηκότων (m.) Av. 1075.
τεθνηκόσιν (m.) Ran. 1175.
συντέθνηκε Ran. 868. 869.
τεθορύβηκεν Ran. 768.
ἀποτεθρίακεν Ach. 158.
ἐντεθριῶσθαι Lys. 663.
ἐντεθύμηται Eccl. 262.
τεθυμιαμένος F 643.
τέθυχ(α) Lys. 1062.
τεθύσθαι Av. 1034.
ἱδρυμένος Pl. 1192.
εἶνται [Ran. 133] (conj.) (εἶναι, εἶναι).
ἀνεῖται Nub. 955.
καθειμένον (nt.a.) Nub. 538.
μεθεῖται [Ran. 1384] (conj.) (μεθεῖτε). [1393] (conj.) (μεθεῖτε).
ἀφῖγμαι Th. 180.
ἀφῖκται Eq. 669. Pl. 265.
ἀφίγμεθα Av. 120. Th. 1098. Pl. 960.
ἀφῖχθον Av. 317 (ἀφίκονθ').
ἀφῖχθαι Av. 320.
ἀφιγμένος Pax 130. Ran. 436.
ἀφιγμένη Pl. 962.
ἀφιγμένοισιν (m.) Ran. 732.
ἀφιγμένω Ran. 433.
ἐξιπώκατον Lys. 291.
ἕστηκα Pax 1178. Th. 1031. Eccl. 853. 879.
ἕστηκας Av. 484. Pax 256.
ἕστηκεν Av. 515. 831. Eccl. 782. 852.
ἕστατ(ε) Pax 383.
ἑστᾶσι(ν) Pax 972. Eccl. 842. F 570,3.
εἱστήκει Av. 513.
ἕσταθι Av. 206.
ἑστάναι Pax [896a] (del. Willems). Av. 1308. Lys. 424. Ran. 538.
ἑστώς Eq. 60. Nub. 415. Lys. 847. Eccl. 865.
ἑστηκώς Pl. 953.
ἑστῶσα Eccl. 64.
ἑστηκότες Eq. 666.
ἑστῶτας F 642.
ἀνεστήκασι Vesp. 217.
ἀνειστήκει Pl. 738.
ἀνεστηκυῖα Eccl. 1073.
ἀφεστήκασι F 959.
ἐνεστώσης Nub. 779.
ἐπανεστήκῃ Av. 554.
ἐφέστηκεν Ach. 628.
ἐφεστάναι Eq. 930. Vesp. 955.
ἐφεστώς Pax 429. Th. 1027.
καθεστήκασι Av. 1161.
καθεστηκός (nt.a.) Ran. 1003.
καθεστώτων (m.) Nub. 1400.
μεθέστηκε Pl. 365. 994.
παρέστατ(ε) Eccl. 1114.
παρεστάναι Ach. 443.
παρεστώς Th. 6. Eccl. 641.
παρεστός (nt.a.) Eq. 564.
παρεστηκότος (nt.) Eq. 399.
παρεστῶτος (nt.) Lys. 318.
περιεστώτων (m.) Ach. 915.
προέστηκεν Vesp. 419.
προσέστηκεν Vesp. 811.
προσέσταμεν Ach. 683.
κεχασμένον (m.) Eq. 685.
διακεχαυμένον (nt.a.) Ach. 453.
περικεχαυμένον (nt.a.) F 478,2.
κέκληκεν Eccl. 349. Pl. 260.
κεκλήμεθα Lys. 253.
ἐγκεκληκώς Av. 1455.
παρακεκλημένον (nt.a.) F 347,3.

προσκεκλημένα (nt.a.) [Vesp. 939] (conj.) (προσκεκαυμένα).
κεκαλλωπισμένη Lys. 219. 220.
κεκαλλωπισμέναι Lys. 44.
ἐγκεκαλύφθαι Pl. 714 .
ἐγκεκαλυμμένον (m.) Th. 500.
ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι Nub. 11.
κεκάπνικεν [Pax 892] (conj.) (κακάπνικ').
κατηγόρηκεν Th. 444. Ran. 996.
κεκαρμένος Ach. 849.
ἀποκεκαρμένην Th. 838.
διακεκαρμένῳ (m.) Vesp. 1313.
κεκραμένον (m.) Eq. 1187.
κεκραμένης Pl. 1132.
κεκραμ[F 590,71.
συγκέκραμαι Pl. 853.
κεκερματισμένον (nt.n.) F 215.
κεκιβδηλευμένοις (nt.) Ran. 721.
παρακεκινδυνευμένον (nt.a.) Ran. 99.
κεκίνηται Ran. 759.
κεκίνηνται Av. 1013.
κεκινῆσθαι Lys. 68.
κεκλάγγω (subj.) (Vesp. 929) (διακεκλάγγω).
κέκλοφας Pl. 372. 389.
κεκλόφωσι Eq. 1149.
κεκλοφώς Pl. 356.
κεκλοφυῖαν Vesp. 554.
κεκλοφότος (m.) Pl. 369.
κεκλαμμένον (m.) Vesp. 57.
κεκλεισμένης Vesp. 198.
ἀποκεκλήκαμεν [Av. 1262] (conj.) (ἀποκεκλήκαμεν).
ἀποκέκλεισμαι Lys. 423.
κατακεκλεισμένα (nt.n.) (Pl. 206) (τά γ' ἐγκεκλεισμένα).
διακεκναισμένος Nub. 120.
κατακέκνισμαι (Pl. 973) (κατακέκνησμαι).
ἐγκεκοισυρωμένην Nub. 48.
κεκόκκυκεν Eccl. 31.
εἰσκεκόμισμαι (Vesp. 616) (τόνδε κεκόμισμαι).
κεκονιμένος Eccl. 291.
κεκομμένα (nt.n.) (Ach. 512) (διακεκομμένα, παρακεκομμένα).
παρακεκομμένα (nt.n.) Ach. 517.
συγκεκόφθαι Nub. 1426.
ἐγκεκορδυλημένος Nub. 10.
κεκορημένοι Pax 1285.
κέκραγα Eq. 863.
κέκραγας Eq. 274. Th. 222.
κέκραγεν Nub. 389. Vesp. 103. Ran. 982.
κεκράγετε Vesp. 415).
κεκράγατον Ach. 804 .
κἀκεκράγει (Ran. 426) (κἀγκεκράγει).
ἐκεκράγεσαν Eq. 674.
κέκραχθι Vesp. 198. Th. 692.
κέκραχθ(ε) Ach. 335.
κεκραγέναι Pax 345
κεκραγώς Ach. 711. Eq. 256. 1018. Pax 319. Pl. 722.
κεκραγόθ(α) (m.) Nub. 1386. Vesp. 1287.
κεκραγότες Vesp. 226. Pax 310.
διακεκραγέναι Eq. 1403.
διακεκραγότες Av. 307.
κεκράτηκεν F 658.
κεκριγότες Av. 1521.
ἀποκεκρουμένον (nt.a.) Ach. 459.
κεκρύφθαι Lys. 119.
ἀποκεκρυμμένος Th. 397.
ἐγκεκρυμμένοι Av. 1608.
κέκτημαι Vesp. 615.
κέκτηται Ran. 1146. Eccl. 601.
κεκτήμεθα Th. 155.
κεκτῆσθαι Av. 379.
κεκτημένος Eccl. 747.
κεκτημένον (m.) F 402,4.
κεκτημένης Eccl. 1126.
κεκτημένῳ (m.) Pl. 4.
κεκτημένοι Pl. 755.
ἐγκεκύχλησαι Vesp. 699.
ἐγκεκύκλωται Vesp. 395.
εἰσκεκύλικεν [Vesp. 1475] (conj.) (εἰσκεκύληκεν, εἰσκέκληκεν).
ἐγκεκυφώς Ran. 425.
ἐγκεκυφότες Nub. 191.
συγκεκυφός (nt.n.) Eq. 850.
ὑποκεκύφαμες (Lys. 1003) (ἀποκεκύφαμες).
κεκωδωνισμένοις (nt.) Ran. 723.
ἐκκεκώφωκας [Eq. 312] (conj.) (ἐκκεκώφευκας, ἐκκεκώφηκας (-σας), ἀνακεκώφηκας).
προείληχ(ε) Eccl. 1159.
λελάκτικας Nub. 136.
εἴληφας Ran. 590. Pl. 881.
εἴληφε Nub. 1066. Th. 1118.
εἰλήφατε Nub. 1498.
εἰληφέναι Eccl. 548.
εἰλημμένον (m.) (Lys. 832) (εἰλυμμένον).
εἰλημμένῳ Pl. 455.
διαλελημμένον (m.) Eccl. 1090.
κατειλήφασιν Lys. 243.
κατειληφώς Av. 279.
περιείλημμαι Pl. 934.
λελάμπρυνται Pl. 635.
λέληθ(α) F 30.
λέληθας Vesp. 517.
λέληθεν Eq. 862. Vesp. 695. Th. 589. 600. 664. Eccl. 103.

ἐλελήθεις Eq. 822. 1044.
ἐλελήθει Nub. 380.
ἐπιλέλησαι Nub. 631.
ἐπελελήσμην Vesp. 605.
λέλαφας F 615.
λέλαχας Ach. 410.
ἀπολέλαυκε Th. 1008.
λέλεκται Ran. 1244.
εἴρηκ/χ(α) Th. 553. 556. Ran. 558. F 332,9.
εἴρηκας Nub. 910. Vesp. 588. Eccl. 1134. Pl. 548. 988.
εἴρηκε Vesp. 494. Lys. 859. Th. 498. 501. 551.
εἰρήκατον Pl. 887.
εἰρηκώς Av. 174.
εἰρηκότων (nt.) Eccl. 1050.
εἴρητ(ο) Eccl. 25. 68.
εἰρημένον (nt.n.) Lys. 1038.
εἰρημένον (nt.a.) Lys. 13. Ran. 1395.
εἰρημένα (nt.n.) Eccl. 970.
εἰρημένα (nt.a.) Eccl. 579.
προλελεγμένων (nt.) Vesp. 886.
συνείλεκται Av. 294.
συλλελεγμένας Eccl. 58.
ἐπιλέλοιφ(ε) Lys. 449.
καταλέλοιφ(α) Lys. 736.
καταλέλειπται Lys. 107.
καταλελειμμένον (nt.n.) Pl. 680.
περιλελειμμένος (Eccl. 1139) (παραλελειμμένος).
παραλέλεξαι Eccl. 904.
λέλουται Pax 868.
λελουμένον (m.) Av. 140.
λελουμένους Lys. 1066.
λέλυται Eccl. 377.
λέλυσο Th. 1208).
κἀπολέλυκεν Vesp. 992.
ἀπολελύσθαι Pax 13.
μεμακκοατότα (m.) (Eq. 62) (μεμακκιατότα, μεμακκοηκότα).
μεμάθηκεν Nub. 1143. 1148. 1150.
μεμαχότος (m.) Eq. 55.
μεμαγμένην Eq. 57. 1167. Pax 28.
μεμαγμένον (nt.a.) Pl. 305.
διαμεμαγμένας Eq. 1105.
μεμελετήκασι Eccl. 119.
μεμελετηκέναι Eccl. 164.
μεμιλτωμένον (nt.a.) Ach. 22.
μεμιμημένα (nt.n.) Lys. 159.
μέμνησαι Vesp. 354.
μεμνήμεθα Pax 1060.
μέμνησθ(ε) Eccl. 22.
'μεμνήμεθα Eccl. 951.
μεμνῆτο Pl. 991
μέμνησο Eq. 495. 1254. Nub. 887. 1107. Vesp. 577. 1434. Pax 719. Av. 1054. Lys. 931. Th. 275. 1134. Ran. 1520.
μεμνῆσι Th. 1201.
μέμνησθε (imper.) Ach. 516.
μεμνῆσθαι Th. 1173.
μεμνημένος Eq. 526. 1052. Pax 278. 1275. Ran. 1469. F 595,5.
μεμνημένη Eq. 1180. Pax 501.
μεμνημένον (m.) Ran. 593.
μεμνημένοι Vesp. 443.
μεμνημένους Eccl. 1159.
μεμνημένας Eccl. 286.
μεμνημένοις (m.) Eccl. 1155.
μεμίσηκα Ach. 300.
μεμούσωμαι Lys. 1127.
μεμυήμεθ(α) Ran. 456.
μεμυημένοι Ran. 158. 318.
μεμύρισμαι (Eccl. 1118) (μεμύρωμαι).
μεμυστιλημένοι Pl. 627.
μεμυστιλημένας Eq. 1168.
καταμεμυττωτευμένα (nt.n.) Pax 247.
νεναυμάχηκε Ran. 191.
νενεύρωται Lys. 1078.
ξυννένοφε F 46.
ξυννενοφυῖα F 410.
νενησμένοι Nub. 1203.
νενημέναι [Eccl. 840] (conj.) (νενασμέναι).
ἐπινενημέναι [Eccl. 838] (conj.) (ἐπινενασμέναι).
ἀπονενίμμεθ(α) Vesp. 1217.
ἀπονενιμμένους Eccl. 419.
ὑπονενοήκαμεν Lys. 1234.
νενόμικας Ach. 993. Eq. 714.
νενόμισται Nub. 1185. Vesp. 1049.
νενομίσμεθα Lys. 11.
'νενόμιστο Nub. 962.
νενομισμένους Th. 358.
νενουθέτηκεν Vesp. 743.
ἐξεσμένον (m.) F 748.
ἐξυρημένος Th. 191.
ἐξυρημένον (m.) F 341.
ἐξυρημένε (Ach. 119) (ἐξευρημένε).
ἀνεῳγμένα (nt.a.) Av. 1523.
παρεῳγμένης F 385.
οἶδ(α) Ach. 309. 371. 375. 430. 555. 580. Eq. 314. 438. 895. 1021. Nub. 100. 102. 190. 213. 343. 403. 652. 660. 683. 760. 862. 1100. 1175. 1282. Vesp. 5. 310. 356. 436. 697. 699. 1348. 1395. Pax 40. 72. 221. 228. 365. 953. 1152. 1296. 1302. Av. 9. 83. 356. 1017. 1210. 1220. Lys. 59.

100. 154. 376. 764. 869. Th. 549. 769. Ran. 30. 75. 580. 580. 584. 584. 601. 648. 749. 1442. Eccl. 115. 365. 516. 833. 989. 992. 998. 998. Pl. 29. 72. 119. 122. 360. 369. 452. 838. 1080. 1080. F 30. 157,2. 696,2.
ἐγῷδ(α) Ach. 118. 904. Eq. 469. 873. Vesp. 1181. 1205. Th. 502. 850. Ran. 836. Eccl. 797.
οἶσθ(α) Ach. 461. 481. 1064. Eq. 315. 346. 894. 1041. 1069. 1158. 1337. Nub. 331. 1284. 1329. Vesp. 4. 193. Pax 371. 386. 479. 1061. Av. 54. 80. 156. 609. 668. 804. 1221. 1246. 1278. 1547. 1641. Lys. 469. Th. 35. Ran. 556. Eccl. 547. 553. 814. 816. 1083.
οἶδ(ε) Ach. 207. 500. Eq. 253. 1279. Nub. 831. Pax 20. Av. 601. 998 (εἶδεν). Lys. 1250. Ran. 740. 1044. 1477. Eccl. 368. F 581,7.
ἴσμεν Nub. 693. Av. 1176. 1177. Ran. 727.
ἴστε Nub. 1223. 1354. Pax 337. Lys. 1138. 1150.
ἴσασιν Nub. 1185. Av. 600. Eccl. 251. 252.
ἴστον Pl. 100.
ᾔδη Av. 511.
ᾔδησθ(α) Th. 554. Eccl. 551.
ᾔδεις Nub. 329.
ᾔδει Ach. 35.
ᾔδειν Vesp. 558. 635. Pax 1182.
ᾖσμεν F 156,4.
ᾖστην Av. 19.
εἰδῇς Eq. 727 (ἴδῃς). 747. Nub. 822. Pl. 112.
εἰδῇ Nub. 1461. Vesp. 376. 425.
εἰδῶμεν Ran. 322.
εἰδῆθ(ε) Vesp. 454.
εἰδείη Vesp. 1431.
ἴσθ(ι) Vesp. 325. 456. 460. 490. 783. Eq. 948. Nub. 39. 458. 829. 1254. Vesp. 1337. Pax 373. 875. Av. 604. 1010. 1408. Th. 12. 1170. Ran. 296. 436. 918. Pl. 183. 216. 889. 962.
ἴστω Ach. 911.
εἰδέναι Ach. 442. Nub. 250. 1252. 1262. Vesp. 86. 985. 1288. Th. 34. Eccl. 350.
εἰδώς Eq. 520. 652. Nub. 479. 1509. Ran. 281. Eccl. 683. Pl. 777.
εἰδότ(α) (m.) Lys. 993.
εἰδότες Av. 692.
εἰδότων Th. 596.
εἰδόσιν (m.) Nub. 1241.
διοιδε Nub. 168.
διειδέναι Ran. 975.
ξύνοιδ(α) Th. 477. 553.
σύνοιδ(α) F 207,2.
σύνοιδε Lys. 841. Pl. 214
ξύνισμεν Eq. 595.
ξυνειδέναι Eq. 184.
ξυνειδώς Th. 475.
ξυνειδότες Ran. 960.
εἰσῳκίσμεθα Pax 260.
ἐξῳκισμένοι Pax 197.
ἐξῳκοδόμηται Av. 1124.
ἀπολώλεχ(α) Nub. 857.
ἀπολώλεκεν Lys. 952. Nub. 26. Vesp. 274.
ἀπόλωλ(α) Th. 209. Pl. 850. 1119. Ach. 467. 473. 1027. Eq. 752. Nub. 726. Vesp. 1296. F 218.
ἀπόλωλας Nub. 1077. Pax 364. 366.
ἀπόλωλεν Nub. 905. Pax 269. 272. 281. Av. 1514. Th. 77. 825. Pl. 1174.
ἀπόλωλο Th. 1212.
ἀπολώλατον Pl. 421.
ἀπολωλεκώς Pl. 857.
ἀπολωλώς Eq. 534.
ἀπολωλεκυῖα Eccl. 547.
ἐξόλωλας Pax 366.
ἐξολωλέναι Pax 412. Lys. 35.
ἐξολωλεκώς Pl. 867.
ἐξολωλότες Pax 483.
ἐξωμμάτωται Pl. 635.
ὀμώμοχ(ε) Th. 276. Ran. 1471.
ἀπομώμοκα Lys. 903.
ἀπομωμοκότας Av. 705.
ξυνομώμοται Lys. 1007.
ἐξωπλισμένη Pax 566.
ἐξωπλισμένων (f.) Lys. 454.
ὠπτημένη Ach. 1157 (ὀπτωμένη).
ὠπτημένων (m.) F 636.
ὠπτημένων (nt.) Pl. 894.
ἐξωπτημένον (nt.n.) Eq. 954.
ὄπωπα Lys. 1157. 1225.
ἑόρακα Av. 1573. Th. 32. Pl. 98.
ἑόρακας Nub. 767. Th. 33.
ἑορακέναι Pl. 1045.
ὠργισμένοι Vesp. 431.
ὠργισμένων (f.) Lys. 687.
ὡρμισμένην Th. 1106.
ὀρώρει Pax 1287.
ἐνεουργηκότες Lys. 402.
ὤφληκα Nub. 34.
ὠφλήκῃ Av. 1457 (ὀφλήσῃ).
ὠψώνηκ(α) Vesp. 1506.
πέπαισται (Th. 1227) (πέπυσται).

ἐπεισπέπαικεν Pl. 805a.
ὑπερπέπαικεν Eccl. 1118.
πεπανούργηκας (Pl. 876) (πεπανούργευκας).
πεπανουργηκότα (m.) (Pl. 368) (πεπανουργευκότι).
πέπαται (Av. 942) (πέπταται, πέπαυται).
πέπονθ(α) Nub. 1452. Vesp. 713 (ποθ'). Th. 445. 1037. Pl. 856. 967.
πέπονθας Eq. 187. 864. 876. Nub. 1141. Vesp. 995. Eccl. 340.
πέπονθ(ε) Eq. 888. Vesp. 267. Pax 1256. Pl. 551. 855. 1047.
πεπόνθαμεν Av. 1171. Lys. 713.
πεπόνθαμες Lys. 1098.
πεπόνθατε Lys. 1146. Th. 534.
ἐπεπόνθειν (3°) Eccl. 650.
πεπονθέναι Eq. 346. Nub. 610. Vesp. 946. Ran. 717.
πεπονθώς Eq. 515.
πεπονθότα (m.) Vesp. 1257.
πεπάτηκας Av. 471.
πέπαυμαι Pax 327. Th. 709.
πέπαυται Pax 29. Lys. 314.
πέπαυσθε Pax 331.
πεπαυμένοι Pax 1286.
πεπαυμέναι Pax 421.
πέποιθας Eq. 770.
πέποιθεν Nub. 1043. Av. 418.
ἐπεποίθειν (3°) Nub. 1347.
πεποιθοίη Ach. 940.
πεποιθώς Eq. 342.
πεποιθότε Pl. 449.
πέπεισθε Pax 1067.
πεπεισμένα (nt.a.) Th. 1170.
ἀναπέπεικεν Th. 451.
ἀναπεπεισμένον (m.) Vesp. 101.
πεπειράσθω Vesp. 1129.
ἀμπεπαρμένον (nt.n.) [Ach. 796] (conj.) (ἐμπεπαρμένον).
πέπορδα Pax 335 (πεπόρδαχα).
πέπορδας Nub. 392.
'πεπόρδει Vesp. 1305.
πεπταμένοισιν (nt.) Nub. 343.
προπέπταται F 106.
πέπεπται Pax 869.
πεπεμμένος Pl. 1142.
πεπεμμένον (m.) Pl. 1136.
πεπεμμένου (m.) Pl. 1126.
ἐμπέπηγε Ach. 1226.
ἀναπεπλημένος (Vesp. 108) (ἀναπεπλασμένος, ὑποπεπλασμένος).
ἐμπεπρῆσθαι Lys. 322.
ἐμπεπρημένος Vesp. 36.
πεπωκώς (Eccl. 948) (πεπτωκώς).
πεπωκότες Vesp. 1082.
ἐκπέπωκα Ach. 1202.
ἐμπεπωκότες (Eccl. 142) (ἐκπεπωκότες, ἐκπεπτωκότες, ἐμπεπτωκότες).
καταπέπωκε(ν) Vesp. 1147. F 732.
καταπεπωκώς (Av. 1429) (καταπεπτωκώς).
καταπεπωκυῖα Av. 1137.
ὑποπεπώκαμεν F 513.
ὑποπεπωκυῖ(α) (Lys. 395) (ὑποπεπτωκυῖ').
ὑποπεπωκότες (Pax 874) (ὑποπεπτωκότες).
χἀπέπρατ(ο) (Ach. 522) (χἀπέπραχθ', καὶ πέπραχθ').
πεπρᾶσθαι Ach. 734. 735. 735. Pax 1011.
πέπτωκεν Ran. 970.
πεπτωκέναι Eq. 572.
πεπτωκότες Pax 904.
ἐκπέπτωκεν Lys. 410.
ἐμπέπτωκε Vesp. 203.
ὑποπεπτωκότες F 603,1.
πεπλασμένην Pax 4
καταπεπλασμένος Pl. 724.
καταπεπλασμένη Eccl. 878.
ἐμπεπλεγμένη Th. 1032.
πεπλώκαμεν Th. 878.
περιπεπλευκότος (m.) Ran. 535.
πεπλήγη Av. 1350.
πεπλήγμεθ(α) Ran. 1214.
πεπληγμένος Ach. 1218. Th. 179.
πεπληγμένῳ (m.) Av. 1299.
ἐκπεπληγμένου (m.) Nub. 810.
ἐκπεπληγμένοι Pax 383.
παραπεπληγμένον (m.) Lys. 831.
παραπεπληγμένα (nt.n.) Eccl. 139.
πεπλούτηκε Pl. 336.
πεπνιγμένον (nt.a.) (Vesp. 511) (πεπηγμένον).
πεπόηκα Eq. 1321. Vesp. 561. Av. 917.
πεπόηκας Eq. 351. Av. 1403. Ran. 744. 1010. 1023.
πεποίηκας F 581,15.
πεπόηχ(ε) Nub. 556. Pax 1089. Th. 764. Pl. 969.
πεποηκώς Vesp. 1017.
πεποηκότα (m.) Eq. 811.
πεπόηται Eq. 63. Lys. 1273. Th. 231.
πεπόησθ(ε) Pax 1065.
ἐπεποήμεθα Ach. 145.
πεποῆσθαι Pax 1079.
ἐμπεποημένη (Av. 1301) (ἐμπόνμένη, ἐμπεπληγμένη, ἐπτερωμένη).
πεπόνηκα Pax 820.
ἀποπεπόνηκας Th. 245.
πεπότηται Nub. 319.

πεποτῆσθαι Av. 1445.
πέπραγας Eq. 683.
πέπραγε Lys. 462. Pl. 633.
πεπράγαμεν Pax 1255. Ran. 302.
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πεπραγότι (m.) Nub. 1269.
πέπρακται Eq. 1248. Av. 1028.
πεπραγμένα (nt.a.) Eccl. 73.
ἐκπεπρεμνισμένα (nt.n.) [Pax 1135a] (conj.) ἐκπεπρισμένα).
πεπρέσβευκας Ach. 610.
ἐπτέρωται Ach. 987.
ἐπτερωμένος Av. 804.
ἐπτερωμένον (nt.a.) Ran. 1388.
ἐπτερωμένω Av. 655.
ἀνεπτέρωκεν Av. 1443 (ἀνεπτέρωσεν).
ἀνεπτέρωμαι Av. 433.
ἀνεπτερῶσθαι Av. 1445.
περιεπτισμένοι Ach. 507.
πεπύλωται Av. 1158.
'πεπύσμην Pax 615. Av. 470. Th. 596.
ἐπεπύσμεθ(α) Lys. 517.
πεπύσθαι Av. 957.
καταπεπυρπολημένος Th. 243.
ἐρραμμένους Eccl. 24.
διερρυηκέναι Vesp. 1156.
διερρυηκόσιν (nt.) Nub. 873.
ἐξερρύηκε Av. 104.
ἐρρωγυῖαν Pl. 546.
κατερρινημένον (nt.a.) Ran. 902.
ἐρριπτασμένον (nt.n.) Lys. 27. 28.
ἔρριπται Th. 829.
ἐρριμμένος Eccl. 850.
ἀνέρριμμαι F 929.σεσηρώς Vesp. 901.
σεσηρότας Pax 620.
σεσεῖσθαι Nub. 1276.
ἐκσέσεισται Ach. 344.
σεσημάνθαι Lys. 1196-97.
κατασέσηπας Pl. 1035.
σεσιώπηκας Vesp. 944.
διέσκεμμαι Ran. 836.
διεσκέφθαι Th. 687.
ἐσκευασμένος Ach. 121. F 191,2.
ἐσκευασμένα (nt.a.) Eq. 1104.
ἐπεσκευασμένον Eccl. 1147.
ἐπεσκευασμένα (nt.n.) (Lys. 613) (ἐσκευασμένα).
παρεσκευάσμεθα Nub. 607. Eccl. 84.
παρεσκευασμένος Ach. 37. Eq. 1152. Pax 451. Pl. 77.
παρεσκευασμένον (nt.n.) Lys. 175.
παρεσκευασμένοι Eccl. 771.
παρεσκευασμέναι Eccl. 839.
παρεσκευασμένα (nt.a.) Ach. 1089.
παρεσκευασμένους Av. 28.
ἐσκηνημένοι Ach. 69.
ἐσκοροδισμένος Eq. 494.
ἐσκοροδισμένοις (m.) Ach. 166.
ἀπεσκοτωμένα F 667.
σεσοβήκαμεν Vesp. 211.
ἀνεσπακώς Ach. 1069.
κατέσπακας Eq. 718.
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ἐσπαρμένα (nt.a.) Pax 1140.
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ἐσπουδάκατον Vesp. 694.
ἐσπουδάκωσι Ran. 813.
ἐσπουδακυῖα Th. 572.
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ἀπεστέρηκας Pl. 373.
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ἐστεφανωμένον (m.) Eq. 966.
ἐστεφανωμένοι Pl. 757.
ἐστιγμένος Av. 760.
ἀπεστλεγγισμένοις (m.) Eq. 580).
ἐστρατευμένοι Ran. 1113.
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ἔστυκα Lys. 869.
ἔστυκας Lys. 989.
ἐστύκαμεν Lys. 1178.
ἐστύκαντι Lys. 996.
ἐστυκώς Lys. 214. 215. Th. 158.
ἐστυκότες Pax 728.
ἐστυκόσι (m.) (Av. 557) (ἑστηκόσι).
κατεστωμυλμένε Ran. 1160.
διεσφηκωμένον (m.) Vesp. 1072.
ἐσχισμένην (Vesp. 1373) (ἐστιγμένην).
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συντετάραξαι Lys. 7.
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προτεταγμένοι [Pax 1342] (conj.) (προστεταγμένοι).
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τέτρηται F 497.
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τετρημένον (nt.a.) Lys. 680.
τετρημένα (nt.n.) Vesp. 127.
ἐντετευτλιωμένης [Ach. 894] (conj.) (ἐντετευτλανωμένης).
ἐντεταχυῖαν [Vesp. 651] (conj.) (ἐντετοχυῖαν).
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ἀποτετιλμένας Eccl. 724.
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ἀνατετραμμένα (nt.n.) Pax 901.
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ἐκτεθραμμένος Nub. 795.
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κἀντέτριψαι Eccl. 904
ἐντετριμμένη Eccl. 732.
ἐντετριμμέναι Lys. 149.
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ἐπιτέτριψαι Pax 369.
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ἐπιτετρῖφθαι Pl. 351.
ἐπιτετριμμένος Lys. 876.
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πεφυκώς Ran. 1218.
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κεχάρισαι Eccl. 1045.
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κεχηνότες Av. 165. Ran. 990.
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κεχειροτονήκασ(ι) [Av. 1571] (conj.) (ἐχειροτόνησαν).
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Thucydides

Text: the Oxford-text of H. Stuart Jones and J. Enoch Powell (*Thucydidis Historiae* Vols. 1-2, Oxford 1942). The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Lexicon Thucydideum* ed. G.A. Bétant (2 vols. Frankfurt ²1845-1854; reprinted Hildesheim 1961) and the *Index Thucydideus* ed. M.H.N. von Essen (Berlin 1887; reprinted Darmstadt 1964).

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Lysias

Text: the *TLG* uses the text of U. Albini, *Lisia. I Discorsi* (Florence 1955). In this study the Oxford-text of K. Hude (*Lysiae Orationes*, Oxford 1912) has been used for practical purposes; the fragments are cited as 'Alb.' = p. 394-407 of Albini's edition and as 'Th.', 'Th.²' = the Teubner-text of T. Thalheim (editio maior, Leipzig 1901 and ²1913). The general usage of the lexemes was checked against the *Index Lysiacus*, ed. D.H. Holmes (Bonn 1895; reprinted Amsterdam 1965).

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παραγεγενημένοι 17.2.
συγγεγόνασι 14.41.
ἔγνωκεν 22.16.
ἐγνώκατε 17.6.
ἐγνωκέναι 1.19. [7.39] (conj.) (<ἐγνωκέναι>).
ἐγνωκότες 13.36 (ἦτε).
ἐγνωσμένα (nt.n.) 1.2 (ἂν εἴη).
ἀπεγνωκότες 1.34 (εἰσίν).
γέγραπται 11.6.
γεγραμμένοι 22.10.
γεγραμμένα (nt.n.) 32.20 (ἦν).
γεγραμμένα (nt.a.)21.5.
γεγραμμένοις (m.) 6.10.
γεγραμμένων (nt.) 30.20.
ἀπογεγράφασι 17.4.
ἐγγεγράφθαι [13.72] (conj.) (<ἐγγεγράφθαι>).
ἐγγεγραμμένοι [16.6] (conj.) (ἐπιγεγραμμένοι) (εἰσίν).
ἐνεγέγραπτο 20.27 (ἀνεγέγραπτο). 26.10.
ἐπιγέγραπται 13.85.
ἐπιγεγραμμένου (nt.) 17.7.
προσγέγραπται 13.85.
προσεγέγραπτο 13.85.
δεδανεισμένας 32.15.
προσδεδανεῖσθαι 19.26 (προδεδανεῖσθαι).
δεδαπάνηκα 32.9.
δεδαπάνηκε 30.26.
δεδαπάνηται 21.5.
δέδοικα 17.1. 27.9.
δεδιέναι 1.36. 7.1. 28.6. 29.12. 32.13. 33.6.
δεδιώς 1.44. 3.20. 6.19. 12.25. 22.4. 23.15.
δεδιότα (m.) 10.17.
δεδοικότες 20.18.
δεδιότες 3.36. 13.51. 14.10. 28.7. 30.11.
δεδιότας 6.37. 25.22.
ἐδεδοίκει 12.50.
ἐδέδισαν 13.27.
ἀποδέδεικται 13.95. 15.11. 17.10. 21.1.
ἀποδεδεῖχθαι 3.40.
ἀποδεδειγμένος 12.27.
ἐνδέδεικται 6.30.
ἐπιδέδεικται 4.12.

δεδεχασμένοι 29.12 (εἴησαν).
δεδεῆσθαι |27.14| (conj.) (δεήσεσθαι).
δεδέσθαι 10.16. 10.16. F 37 Th.
δεδεμένος 6.23. 13.67.
δεδεμένους 13.60.
ἐδέδετο 6.23. 10.16. 13.55.
δεδημεῦσθαι 18.17 (δημεύεσθαι).
δεδημευμένων (nt.) 19.31.
ἐπιδεδημηκέναι 6.11.
ἐπιδεδημηκώς 9.4.
δέδωκας 10.14.
δέδωκεν 20.22. 30.4 (ἔδωκεν). F 79 Th.
δεδώκατε 10.24.
δεδωκέναι 3.25. 25.17. 27.8. 27.9.
δεδωκώς 6.34. 12.77. 15.11.
δεδωκότες 12.82 (εἴησαν). 14.31. 25.11.
δεδωκότας 6.20.
δέδοται F 79 Th.
δεδομένης 25.17.
δεδομένων (nt.) F 78,4 Th.
ἀποδεδωκέναι F 350.10 Th.[2].
ἀποδεδωκώς 32.29.
ἀπεδεδώκει F 6 Th.
ἀποδέδοται 1.2. 1.30.
ἐκδεδομένα (nt.a.) 32.6.
παραδέδωκεν 6.32.
προδεδωκώς 28.1.
προδεδωκόσιν (m.) 28.17.
δεδίκασμαι 21.18.
δεδίκασται F 3 Th.
δεδόχθαι [29.5] (conj.) (δέδοκται).
δεδοκίμασαι 32.9.
δεδοκιμασμένος 14.22.
δεδοκιμασμένων (m.) 15.7.
καταδεδουλωμένον (nt.a.) 18.5.
καταδεδουλωμέναι 2.5.
δεδυκότος (m.) 1.22.
ἀποδεδύσθαι 10.10.
ἐκδεδύσθαι 10.10.
δεδυστυχήκασιν 14.41.
δεδωροδοκηκότα (m.) 29.5.
εἴθισται 14.31. 24.20. 32.11.
εἴθισθε 24.20.
εἰθισμένον (nt.n.) 12.38.
εἰθισμένον (nt.a.) 12.17.
εἰθισμένοι 19.10 (εἰσίν). 27.12 (ἦσαν). 27.16 (ἐστέ).
εἰθισμένων (m.) 3.9.
συνειθισμένον (nt.n.) 1.10 (ἦν).
εἴωθε F 350.13 Th.[2].
εἰωθέναι 31.2.
εἰωθόσι (m.) 3.28.
ἐξεληλεγμένοι 6.44.
ἠμφιεσμένη 13.40.
ἔοικεν 13.85.
ἐπιτετήδευται 13.65.
ἐπιτετροπευμένους 32.3.
εἴργασται 12.1. 12.89. 14.32.
εἰργάσθαι 12.37. 21.8.
εἰργασμένος 4.19. 18.2 (ἐργασάμενος). 21.11. 25.4.
εἰργασμένῳ (m.) 6.32.
εἰργασμένοι 5.5. 12.22 (εἰσίν). 16.19 (εἰσιν). 22.2 (εἰσιν). 25.6 (εἰσίν). 25.11 (εἰσί). 25.28.
εἰργασμένους 25.5. 25.13.
εἰργασμένοις (m.) 7.17. 12.33. 12.57.
ἐξείργασται F 102 Th.
κατειργασμένοις (nt.) 31.9 (κατεργασαμένω).
ἠρημωμένην 2.37.
ἐλήλυθεν 29.7.
ἐληλύθασιν 22.14.
εἰσελήλυθεν 6.52.
εἰσεληλύθασιν 30.34.
εἰσεληλυθότος (m.) 1.38.
ἐξεληλυθυίας (gen.) 19.31.
κατεληλύθατε 10.4.
κατεληλυθόσιν (m.) 18.19.
παρελήλυθεν 26.6.
παρεληλυθότος (m.) 19.62.
παρεληλυθότων (nt.) 3.19. 15.9. 18.18. 18.19. 22.20. 25.28. 33.6.
παρεληλυθόσι (m.) 33.7.
προσεληλύθασιν 22.1.
προσεληλυθέναι 1.16.
ἠταιρήκασιν 14.41.
ηὑρηκέναι 12.68.
εὑρηκότος F 4,i Alb.
ἐζηλωκώς F 75,4 Th.
ἡττῆσθαι 2.38.
ἡττημένων (m.) 18.4.
τέθνηκε 7.10.
τεθνήκασιν 13.84.
τεθνᾶσι 13.38. 13.89.
τεθνᾶσιν 18.24.
τεθνηκέναι 13.94.
τεθνάναι 10.28. 30.27. F 53,3 Th.
τεθνηκώς 11.10.
τεθνεώς 12.18.
τεθνεῶτος (m.) 1.14. 32.23. F 1,4 Th.
τεθνεώσης 31.22.
τεθνεῶτες 12.56.
τεθνεῶτας 2.9. 2.9. 2.78. 14.39.
τεθνεώτων (m.) 2.3. 2.8. 12.36. 12.87. 12.88. 12.99. 19.49.
ἐτεθνήκει 19.48.
ἐνετεθύμητο 12.70.
ἀφειμένους 3.25.
προεῖνται 21.12.

ἀφῖκται 5.3. 6.9. 6.33.
ἀφιγμένος 1.22.
ἀφιγμένοι 12.22 (εἰσι).
ἀφιγμένα (nt.n.) 14.2.
ἀφιγμένους 16.5.
ἱππευκώς 26.10.
ἱππευκότος (m.) 26.10.
ἕστηκεν F 14. F 94 Th.
ἑστηκότα (m.) 1.24.
ἀφεστῶτα (m.) 23.7.
ἐγκαθεστᾶσιν [2.59] (conj.) (ἐγκαθιστᾶσιν).
ἐφεστηκότων (m.) 21.13.
καθέστηκα 3.38. 4.13. 4.19.
καθέστηκε 31.11.
καθέστηκεν 7.2. 19.8.
καθέσταμεν 12.81.
καθεστήκατε 28.14.
καθεστήκασιν 1.49.
καθεστάναι [25.8] (conj.) (καθιστάναι).
καθεστηκότες 12.76.
καθεστηκότας 16.12. 25.6.
καθεστηκόσι (nt.) 16.3. 25.3.
παρειστήκειν 7.19.
παρειστήκει 2.22 (ἐνειστήκει).
περιέστηκε 2.60.
περιέστηκεν 12.64.
περιεστῶτος (m.) F 48 Th.
περιεστηκότα (nt.a.) [13.93] (conj.) (παρεστηκότα).
περιεστηκότας 33.5.
περιεστηκόσι (nt.) 2.32.
περιειστήκει 2.36 (παρειστήκει).
προεστηκότας 13.7.
συνεστάναι 30.10.
κεκλῆσθαι 22.14.
κεκλημένον (m.) F 66 Th.
κατηγόρηκα 14.46.
κατηγόρηκεν 3.25.
κατηγορηκέναι 13.31. 25.2.
κατηγόρηται [12.81] (conj.) (κατηγορεῖτε). 27.1.
κατηγορημένα (nt.n.) 12.79. 19.11. 27.13. 28.1.
κατηγορημένα (nt.a.) 12.37 (κατηγορουμένα). 12.38.
κατηγορημένων (nt.) 16.9. 21.1.
κεκελευκότες 1.34.
ἐκκεκηρυγμένος 31.8.
ἐκκεκηρυγμένους 25.22.
κεκινδύνευκα 3.47.
κεκινδύνευκε 11.9.
κεκινδυνευκώς 21.11.
κεκινδυνευκότες 25.28.
κεκινδυνευκόσι (m.) 18.7.
προκεκινδυνευκότων (m.) 18.27.
κεκοινωνημένοι F 116 Th.
κεκολάκευκεν 6.6.
κεκόμισται F 6,ii Alb.
κεκομίσθαι 3.25.
κεκομισμένον (m.) 32.14 (κεκοσμημένον). 32.15 (κεκοσμημένον).
ἐκκέκοπται 7.7.
ἐκκεκόφθαι 7.11.
περικεκόφασι 14.42.
κεκραγότα (m.) 3.15.
κεκρικότα (m.) 6.54.
κέκτημαι 17.4. 24.6.
κέκτηται 33.5. F 1,5 Th.
κεκτῆσθαι 2.24. 19.48. 33.7.
κεκτημένος 3.24. 14.38. 16.14. 29.4. F 2,i Alb.
κεκτημένοι 2.50. 2.61. 18.21.
κεκτημένους 12.20. 24.16. 28.2. 34.4.
κεκτημένοις (m.)27.11.
κεκτημένων (m.) 7.7.
ἐκεκτήμην 7.32. 7.34. 24.11.
ἐκέκτητο 19.27. 31.14. F 78,3 Th.
ἐκέκτηντο 2.17.
ἀπεκτόνασι [10.7] (conj.) (<ἀπεκτόνασι>). 10.7. 11.3. 11.3.
ἀπεκτονέναι 10.1. 10.2. 10.6. 10.21. 11.1. 11.3. 11.7.
ἀπεκτονώς 6.24 (ἦν).
κεκώλυκεν F 333.10 Th.².
εἰληχώς 2.78.
εἴληφα 24.1.
εἴληφε F 93 Th.
εἰλήφατε 30.6.
εἰλήφασι 26.17.
εἰλήφασιν 12.83.
εἰληφέναι 8.1. 13.6. 30.3. F 2.6,v Alb. F 2.6,v Alb. F 2.7+45+73 Alb.
εἰληφώς 12.77. 32.29.
εἰληφότες 25.13. 27.7 (ἔσεσθε). 30.23 (ἔσεσθε).
εἰλημμένα (nt.a.) 28.5.
ἀντειλῆφθαι 28.15.
ἀπείληφε 29.7.
ἀπειλήφασιν 19.24.
ἀπειληφέναι 3.26. F 350.10 Th.².
κατειληφότος 12.52 (καταλαβόντος).
κατειλημμένων (nt.) 16.16.
παρειληφώς F 75,4 Th.
συνειλῆφθαι 22.14.
ἐπιλελῆσθαι 26.1.
εἴρηκα 8.16. 14.47. 24.21.
εἴρηκε 3.24. 10.30.
εἴρηκεν 4.6. 11.11.
εἰρήκασιν 25.2.

εἰρηκέναι 8.14.
εἰρηκώς 31.4 (ἂν εἴην). F 78,1 Th.
εἰρηκότα (m.)10.3. 10.9.
εἰρηκότι (m.) 10.28.
εἰρηκότας 2.2.
εἴρηται 1.30. [10.9] (conj.) (εἴρητο). 10.12.
εἰρήσθω 24.4.
εἰρῆσθαι 2.2. 31.34.
εἰρημένα (nt.n.) 5.1. 10.30. 29.8. 30.31.
εἰρημένα (nt.a.) 7.9. 12.77. 14.47. 23.16.
εἰρημένων (m.) 1.38.
εἰρημένων (nt.) 7.30. 10.2. 19.24. 19.27. 19.64. 24.21. 30.20. F 6,iii Alb.
εἰρημένοις (m.) 12.77.
εἴρητο 1.21.
ἀπειρηκώς F 5a Th.
ἀπειρηκόσι (m.) 2.52.
διειλέχθαι 8.15.
διείλεκτο 9.5.
κατειλέχθαι 9.4.
κατειλεγμένος 16.13.
κατείρηκεν 13.50.
προειρημένα (nt.a.) 9.5. 9.15. 31.31.
συνείλεκται F 1,4 Th.
συνειλεγμένοι 2.17.
συνειλεγμένων (m.) 3.29.
λέλειπται 34.9.
ἀπολελειμμένου (m.) 1.15.
ἐκλελοίπασιν 8.16.
ἐλλέλειπται 12.99.
καταλελοιπέναι 19.29.
καταλελεῖφθαι 34.1.
καταλελειμμένος F 75,1 Th.
κατελέλειπτο 32.8.
παραλέλοιπεν 14.3.
παραλελεῖφθαι 2.2.
παραλελειμμένα (nt.a.) 14.47.
λελῃτούργηκα 3.47. 25.12.
λελῃτουργήκασι 26.3.
λελῃτουργηκόσι (m.) 18.7.
λελόγισται [32.21] (conj.) (λελογίσθαι). 32.24.
λελογίσθαι 32.27.
μεμαρτύρηκα 10.30. 11.11.
μεμαρτυρήκασι 26.8.
μεμαρτυρήκασιν 7.11. 7.38.
μεμαρτύρηται 3.15. 3.37. 13.66. 19.55.
μεμαρτυρημένων (nt.) 19.27.
μεμαχημένος 7.41.
συμμεμειγμένου (nt.) 2.38.
μεμελέτηκας 10.9.
μεμηνυμένα (nt.n.) 6.14.
μεμηχάνηται 3.26.
μέμνημαι 31.8.
μέμνησαι 32.17.
μέμνηται 30.27.
μέμνησθε 13.44.
μέμνησθε (imper.) [13.52] (conj.) (μεμνῆσθαι). 13.76. 30.14.
μεμνῆσθαι 2.3. 2.61. 2.74. 14.22. 15.9. 20.32. 21.19. 33.1.
μεμνημένοι 2.67. 3.47. 10.32. 14.47. 25.35. 34.5.
μεμνημένους 7.42. 14.15. 19.64. F 6,iii Alb.
ἐμέμνησθε 18.18. 20.22.
μεμίσθωκα 17.5.
μεμισθωμένοι 7.11 (εἶναι).
μεμισθωμένους 17.8.
μεμισθωμένων (m.)7.17.
ἐμεμίσθωτο 3.11.
νεναυμάχηκα 25.12.
νεναυμαχηκώς 7.41.
νενίκηκα 21.5.
νενίκηκε 18.14.
νενικήκασι 26.3.
νενικηκέναι 2.38.
νενικηκώς 19.52.
ἐξενωμένος 6.48.
ἀνεῳγμένης 1.24.
ἀνεῳγμέναι 12.16.
οἶδα 31.20.
οἶδ(α) 1.1. 2.77. 7.42. 8.18. 10.31. 12.37. 12.61. 16.9. 18.13. 21.22. 22.22. 23.16. 24.21.
οἶδε 9.7. 9.11. 9.19. 13.71. 23.13. 31.2. F 78,4 Th.
οἶδεν 29.6. 30.2. F 44 Th.
ἴσμεν 34.9. F 16,2 Th.
ἴστε 8.8. 10.22. 11.7. 12.80. 13.44. 13.44. 19.48. 20.34. 20.34. 20.34. 25.25. 27.8. 27.11. F 346.8 Th.[2].
ἴσασι 5.4. 12.33. 31.4. 34.8.
ἴσασιν 4.4. 6.10. 7.18. 17.8. 19.2. 20.29. 26.17.
εἰδῶσιν F 53,3 Th.
εἰδῆτε 13.4. 13.20. 13.38. 13.44. 13.64. 17.8. 19.57. 31.14.
εἰδείην 23.10.
εἰδείη 3.7. 8.12. 12.74. 23.6. 23.7.
εἰδέναι 1.19. 1.28. 2.23. 2.72. 6.36. 7.15. 7.18. 7.29. 9.13. 10.3. 10.7. 10.15. 11.3. 13.64. 14.24. 17.4. 19.4. 19.5. 19.16. 19.52. 20.24. 20.25. 21.7. 21.18. 22.8. 23.5. 23.9. 23.12. 23.15. 25.24. 28.10. 28.16. 29.2. 30.34. 32.2. F 350.19 Th.[2].
εἰδώς 1.22. 1.41. 1.42. 3.9. 3.29. 9.13. 12.70. 13.11. 13.77. 16.14. 19.13. 23.12. 25.17. 26.13. 30.22. 32.1.

εἰδότα 9.21.
εἰδότες 2.14. 2.32. 2.37. 7.35. 8.8. 12.69. 15.9. 17.2. 20.33. 21.14. 25.1. 26.8. 27.8. 27.16.
εἰδότας 1.36. 3.4. 14.4. 19.51. 30.33. 33.4.
εἰδότων (m.) F 75,2 Th.
ᾔδειν 1.41. 1.42. 4.17. 7.16. 10.30. 11.2. 11.11. 12.15. 23.6.
ᾔδει 4.15. 4.16. 6.22. 14.37. 18.10. 31.21.
ᾔδεσαν 4.15. 12.76.
προειδέναι 2.36.
προειδότων 16.15.
προῄδειν 1.42.
σύνοισθα 26.1.
σύνοιδεν 32.27.
σύνιστε 7.30.
συνοίδασιν 11.1.
συνειδῶσιν 29.10.
συνειδέναι 1.46. 7.36. 20.23.
συνειδώς 3.1. 13.61. 29.11.
συνειδότα 13.18.
συνειδυῖαν 32.17.
συνειδότος F 2.6,v Alb.
συνειδότες 12.75. 20.23. 26.24. 29.11.
συνειδότας 6.32. 7.16.
συνειδότων 7.17.
συνῄδειν 16.1.
συνῄδει 1.44.
συνῄδεσαν 7.22. 18.7.
διῴχηκα [16.11] (conj.) (διῴχησα).
ᾠκοδομημένων F 6,ii. Alb
ἀπολωλέκασι 19.8.
ἀπολωλέναι 2.38. 22.2. 27.8. 28.17.
ἀπολωλεκώς 32.29.
ἀπολωλότα 29.5.
ἀπολωλεκότος F 4,i Alb.
ἀπολωλεκότες 18.26. 19.33.
ἀπολωλότων 33.8.
προσαπολωλέναι 12.64.
ὀμωμόκατε 10.32. 15.8. 18.13. 22.7.
ὀμωμοκέναι 13.21.
ὀμωμοκότας 15.10.
ὡμολόγηκεν 12.34.
ὡμολογημένων 1.21.
ὡμολόγητο [12.11] (conj.) (ὡμολόγησα).
ὠνειδικότος 16.15.
παρωξυμμένος 4.8.
ὡπλισμέναι 2.4.
ἑώρακα 11.7.
ἑωράκατε 12.100.
ἑωρακώς 1.45. 10.22.
ἑωρακυῖα 1.12.
διωρισμένον 30.4.
ὠρχῆσθαι F 110 Th.
ὠφλήκοι 23.3.
διώχληκε 6.6.
πέπονθε 3.5. 16.8.
πέπονθεν 8.3.
πεπόνθαμεν 20.35.
πεπόνθατε 12.96. 12.100.
πεπόνθασιν 14.42. 14.42.
πεπονθέναι 9.20. 18.12.
πεπονθώς 9.7. 14.2. 25.15.
πεπονθότες 1.1. 2.13. 12.35. 18.10. 21.25. 32.1. 32.18.
πεπονθότας 20.32. 21.22. 25.18. 34.1.
πεπονθότων 12.84. 20.8. 26.1. 32.18.
πεπονθόσι 12.57.
πεπονθόσιν 19.4.
πέπαυμαι 24.6.
πέπαυνται 16.20.
πεπαυμένοι 19.6.
πέπειχεν 26.7.
πεπεισμένος 12.15.
πεπείρασθε 20.31. 20.34.
πεπείρανται 27.2.
πεπειραμένοι 5.3.
πεπειραμένους 34.1.
πεπρᾶσθαι 30.27.
πεπραμένα F 2,i Alb.
ἐκπεπτωκότες 18.26. 32.10.
ἐκπεπτωκότων 13.77. 18.9.
μετεπεπτώκει 20.14.
περιπέπτωκα 7.1.
περιπεπτωκώς 24.10.
περιπεπτωκότα 10.24.
πεπίστευκεν 12.84.
πεπιστευμένους 19.13.
ἐκπεπληγμένοι 32.10.
πεποίηκα 7.31. 11.1. 25.7.
πεποίηκας 10.14. 22.5. 30.19.
πεποίηκε 6.11. 12.34. 13.83. 30.33.
πεποίηκεν 26.23. 30.24. F 8 Th.
πεποιήκασι 14.42.
πεποιήκασιν 12.89. 14.42. 25.30.
πεποιηκέναι 13.54. 21.8. 28.8. 32.27.
πεποιηκώς 6.11. 16.8.
πεποηκότα F 6,iii. Alb.
πεποιηκότος 3.38. 19.19.
πεποιηκότι 14.29.
πεποιηκότες 3.19. 3.37. 12.7. 13.92. 14.10. 30.1.
πεποιηκότας 25.4.
πεποιηκότων 21.22.
πεποιηκόσιν 21.20.
πεποιῆσθαι 3.42. [13.91] (conj.) (<πεποιῆσθαι>).
πεποιημένον 13.72.
πεποιημένα 6.19. 6.33. 6.44. 6.50.

πεποιημένους 12.100.
πεπολιτεῦσθαι 21.18.
πεπολιτευμένοι 25.10.
πεπόρισται 29.7.
πέπρακται 3.37. 12.7. 12.81.
πεπραγμένον 4.19.
πεπραγμένα 1.5. 3.3. 3.9. 14.2. 17.1. 25.13. F 6,i Alb.
πεπραγμένων 2.48. 9.17. 12.37. 12.77. 12.85. 13.19. 14.2. 14.23. 16.2. 19.4. 19.51. 25.2. 25.5. 25.11. 25.15. 28.1. 28.12. 30.3. 30.30. 30.31. 31.4. 32.18. 33.9. F 46 Th. F 75,2 Th.
πεπραγμένοις 12.90. 14.17. 14.19.
διαπέπρακται 26.7.
διαπεπραγμένων 1.38.
πεπυσμένος 1.18. 12.17.
ἐρριφέναι 10.9. 10.12. 10.21.
ἐρρωμένῳ 24.7.
ἔρρωτο 13.31.
σεσημασμένα 32.7.
κατεσκέδασται 10.23.
ἐσκευασμένος F 54 Th.
κατεσκευασμένην F 2.6,iv Alb.
κατεσκευασμένους 24.20.
παρεσκευασμένος 15.5.
παρεσκευασμένον 13.26.
παρεσκευασμένην 21.8.
παρεσκευασμένης 1.24.
παρεσκευασμένοι 14.10. 30.31.
παρεσκευασμένων 13.26.
παρεσκεύαστο 13.52.
διέσπαρται 11.8.
ἐστερήμεθα 34.9.
ἐστέρηνται 2.72. 19.7.
ἐστερημένοι 19.9. 19.9.
ἐστερημένους 18.22.
ἀπεστέρησθε 13.62.
ἀπεστέρηνται 32.1.
ἀπεστερημένος 24.23. F 6,i Alb.
ἀπεστερημένοι 25.11. 32.22.
ἀπεστερημένους 2.73. 21.24.
ἐστεφανωμένον 26.12.
ἐστράτευται 21.20.
ἐστρατευμένος 9.4.
ἐστρατευμένοι 10.25.
ἐστρατήγηκε 11.9.
ἐσχηματισμένοι F 73 Th.
σεσῶσθαι 2.38.
σεσωσμένους 16.16.
τετάχθαι 9.20. 15.6.
τεταγμένος 14.11. 14.11. 16.15.
τεταγμένης F 7 Th.
προστέτακται 7.29.
προστεταγμένα 7.31.
τετελευτηκώς 32.26.
τετελευτηκότος (m.) F 74 Th.
τετελευτηκότας 2.80.
τετελευτηκότων 2.74.
διατετέλεκα 16.18.
συντετελεσμένου (nt.) F 69a Th.
κατατεθηκότων 4.16.
τετίμηκε 26.17.
τετίμηκεν 26.20.
τετίμηνται 17.7.
τετιμωρηκότες 13.97.
τετιμωρῆσθαι 9.17.
τετιμωρημένος 7.20. 25.15.
ἐκτετειχέναι F 2.6,v Alb.
τετρωμένος 20.14.
τετόλμηκε 7.38.
τετριηράρχηκα [25.12] (ἐτριηράρχησα).
τετριηράρχηκε 19.57.
τετρυφηκέναι F 69 Th.
τετύχηκε F 19 Th.
ὑβρισμένος 3.40.
ὑβρισμένους 32.10.
ὑβρισμένων 3.7.
ἀποπεφασμένον F 116 Th.
διενήνοχεν 24.13.
εἰσενήνοχα 21.3. 25.12.
εἰσενήνοχεν 19.57. 30.26.
εἰσενηνοχέναι 19.29.
εἰσενηνοχόσι (m.) 18.7.
εἰσενήνεκται 19.43.
προσενήνεκται 30.6.
πεφευγέναι 19.58.
ἀποπεφεύγασι 20.14.
διέφθαρκεν 1.16.
διεφθάρθαι 22.14.
διεφθαρμένοι 2.29.
διέφθαρτο 13.20.
πεφορινῶσθαι F 113 Th. (πεφωριῶσθαι)
καταπεφρόνηκε 6.11.
καταπεφρόνηκεν 12.84.
πέφυκα 19.1.
πέφυκε 31.22.
πεφύκασι 7.35.
πεφυκότα 2.29.
κεχαρισμένα 6.33.
κεχειροτονημένους 16.8.
κεχορήγηκε 19.57.
κέχρησθε 26.14.
κεχρημένος 24.3.
κεχρημένῳ 13.41.
κεχρημένοι 18.10. 25.11.
κεχρημένους F 1,3 Th.
ἔψευσται 3.21.
ἐψευσμένος 2.27.
ἐψευσμένοι 19.49 (ἐψηφισμένοι).

ἐψηφισμένοι 22.19.
ἐψηφισμένα 12.30.
ἐψήφιστο [13.35] (conj.) (ἐψηφίσατο).
κατεψηφισμένους [12.100] (conj.) (καταψηφιεῖσθαι) (ἔσεσθαι).
ἐψιμυθιῶσθαι 1.14. 1.17.
ἑωνηκώς F 349.14 Th.[2].
ἑωνημένον 32.21.
ἑωνημένους 7.2. F 2,i Alb.
ἑωνημένοις F 1 Alb. F 5 Alb.
συνεωνημένος 22.12.
ὠφέλημαι 21.18.

Xenophon Opuscula

Text: the Oxford-text of E.C. Marchant (*Xenophontis Opera Omnia*, Tomus V *Opuscula*, containing *Hiero, Agesilaus, De Re Publica Lacedaemoniorum, De Vectigalibus, Hipparchicus, De Re Equestri, Cynegeticus, Atheniensium Respublica*, Oxford 1920). The general usage of the lexemes in the *Opuscula* was checked against the *Index Xenophontis Opusculorum*, edd. A.R. López and F.M. García (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1994).

εἰσηγγελμένοι Eq.Mag. 4.8 (ὦσιν).
παρηγγέλθαι Eq.Mag. 2.7.
ἠγμέναι Cyn. 3.11.
ἤθροισται Ath. 2.7.
διῄρηνται Hier. 9.5.
διῃρημέναι Eq.Mag. 2.2.
ἀκηκόαμεν Vect. 4.14.
ἑάλωκεν Cyn. 6.10.
ἑαλωκώς Cyn. 6.18 (ᾖ). 6.19 (ᾖ). 6.24 (ᾖ).
ἀπηλλαγμένοι Vect. 4.39 (εἴημεν). Ath. 2.15 (ἦσαν).
ἐπηλλαγμένα (nt.n.) Cyn. 8.3 (ᾖ).
ἐπηλλαγμένα (nt.a.) Cyn. 6.15.
ἐπηλλαγμένων (nt.) Cyn. [6.14] (conj.) (ἀπηλλαγμένων).
διημαρτηκώς Cyn. 6.19 (ᾖ).
ἠμελημένην Cyn. 6.11.
ἠνάγκασται Ath. 1.18.
συνηναγκασμένων (m.) Hier. 3.9.
ἐξηπατημένος Ages. 2.30.
ὑφημμένας Cyn. [7.6] (conj.) (ὑφειμένας).
συνηρμοσμένον (nt.a.) Cyn. 5.31.
ἀφηρπασμένον (m.) Cyn. 9.18.
ἠρτημένον (m.) Eq. 7.1.
ἠρτημένα (nt.n.) Eq.Mag. 8.4 (ἐστί).
ἀπήρτηται Eq. 10.9.
ἠσκηκέναι Eq.Mag. 8.8.
ἠσκηκώς Lac. [2.4] (del. Herwerden) (εἴη).
ἐξησκημένοι Eq.Mag. 2.1 (ὦσιν).
ἠτίμωται Ath. 3.12.
ἠτίμωνται Ath. 3.12. [3.13] (conj.) (τιμῶνται).
ἠτιμῶσθαι Ath. 3.13.
ηὐξηκέναι Hier. 2.15.
ηὐξημένας Vect. 5.12.
ἠφανίσθαι Cyn. 8.1.
ἀναβεβηκώς Eq. 7.4 (εἴη). 8.5.
ἀναβεβαμένῳ (m.) Eq.Mag. (3.4) (ἀναβεβαμμένῳ, ἀναβεβασμένῳ).
ἀναβεβαμένοι Eq.Mag. 1.4.
ἀποβέβηκεν Vect. 5.11.
διαβεβηκώς Eq. 7.5 (εἴη).
καταβεβηκόσι (m.) Eq.Mag. 4.2.
συμβεβηκότες Eq. 1.14.
ἐκβεβλημένοι Vect. 4.2.
καταβεβλημένου (m.) Eq. 8.3.
βεβιασμένους Hier. 2.12.
βεβρωκώς Hier. 1.24.
βεβοηθηκότας Ages. 2.19.
ἐγεγόνει Ages. 2.28. Cyn. 1.4.
γεγένηται Vect. 5.12. Lac. 3.4. 8.2.
γεγενῆσθαι Eq. 1.1.
γεγενημένον (m.) Hier. 1.2.
γεγενημένον (nt.a.) Hier. 2.17.
γεγενημένης Ages. 2.23.
γεγενημένου (nt.) Ages. 1.33.
γεγενημένους Hier. 3.8.
γεγενημένας Vect. 4.40.
γεγενημένα (nt.a.) Eq.Mag. 5.11.
διαγεγενημένη Ages. 1.4.
προγεγενημένα (nt.a.) Vect. 5.11.
ἔγνωκας Hier. 7.11.
ἐγνωκέναι Vect. 4.12.
ἐγνῶσθαι Ages. 3.5.
ἐγνωσμένα (nt.a.) Cyn. 13.5.
γέγραπται Cyn. 13.2. 13.7. Eq.Mag. 9.8.
γεγράφθω Eq. 10.17. 12.14.
γεγράφθαι Cyn. 13.6.
γεγραμμένα (nt.a.) Cyn. 13.6.
γεγραμμένων (nt.) Eq.Mag. 5.9.
δεδίασι Hier. 6.15.
δεδίῃ Ath. 1.11.

δεδιέναι Ath. 1.11.
ἐδεδοίκει Ath. 1.11.
ἀποδέδεικται Lac. 4.5.
ἐπιδέδεικται Cyn. 12.18.
ἐπιδεδειγμένα (nt.n.) Eq.Mag. 3.4 (ἔσται).
δεδεμένος Eq. 5.4.
δεδεμένας Cyn. 10.4.
συνδεδεμένα (nt.a.) Cyn. 4.1.
ὑποδεδεμένον (m.) Lac. [2.4] (del. Herwerden).
δεδήλωται Eq. 12.14.
δεδιδάχθω Eq. 6.9.
δεδιδαγμένοι Eq.Mag. 8.3.
δεδωκέναι Eq. 5.6.
δέδοται Lac. 11.6. Eq. 5.8.
δέδονται Lac. 15.8 (δίδονται). 15.9 (δίδονται).
ἐκδεδομένοι Vect. 4.16 (εἰσιν).
ἐκδεδομένα (nt.n.) Vect. 4.15 (ἐκδιδόμενα).
παραδεδράμηκε Cyn. 6.10.
ἐγρηγόρῃ Cyn. 5.11.
ἐγρηγορέναι Hier. 1.6.
ἐγρηγορός (nt.n.) Eq. 1.9.
εἴθισται Cyn. 8.4.
εἰθίσθαι Cyn. 12.2.
εἰθισμένος Eq. 10.15 (ἦν).
εἰθισμένον (nt.n.)i 9.7.
εἰθισμένον (nt.a.) Lac. 6.4.
εἰθισμένοι Eq.Mag. 3.5 (εἰσιν). 8.3.
εἴθιστο Ages. 11.2.
εἰώθατε Eq.Mag. 3.12.
εἰώθασι Eq.Mag. 8.23.
εἰωθότα (nt.a.) Hier. 1.17.
περιεληλακότες Eq.Mag. 3.2.
ἔοικε Hier. 7.2. 7.3.
ἔοικεν LAC. 10.6. Hier. 7.1. Eq.Mag. 8.6.
ἐοικέναι Hier. 1.36.
ἐοικός (nt.n.) Cyn. 9.10 (ἐστι). Vect. 4.31.
ἐπικεχουρῆσθαι Vect. 1.1.
εἰργάσθω Eq. 12.3.
εἰργασμένον (nt.n.) Eq. 12.2 (ἦ).
εἰργασμένοι Cyn. 6.1.
εἰργασμένων (m.) Vect. 4.25. Eq.Mag. 8.8.
κατειργασμένος Hier. 11.8 (εἴης).
παρεληλυθότων (nt.) Vect. 4.31.
προδιελήλυθεν Cyn. (1.7) (παρελήλυθεν).
προεληλύθασι Hier. 4.4.
εὐεργετήκει Ages. 2.29.
ηὕρηνται Cyn. 12.17.
ηὑρημένον (nt.a.) Eq. 12.5.
ἐξηύρηκε Ath. 2.17.
ἐξηυρηκώς Vect. 4.13.
ἐφυσμένος Cyn. 9.5 (ἦ).
μετεσχηκέναι Hier. 2.16.
ἐζήτηται Cyn. 13.3.
ἀνεζωπυρημένῳ (m.) Eq. 10.16.
ἐξήγημαι Lac. 2.1.
τεθναῖεν Ages. 7.5.
τεθνεῶτος (m.) Cyn. 10.17.
τεθνηκότες Ages. 7.5.
τεθνεῶτας Cyn. 1.6 (θνήσκοντας).
τεθορυβημένον (m.) Eq. 9.11.
συντεθραυσμένα (nt.a.) Ages. 2.14.
διατεθρυμμένας Ages. 2.14.
ἀφεῖσθαι Eq. 7.6.
ὑφείσθωσαν Cyn. 10.2.
ἀφιγμένος Eq. 10.15 (ἦ).
ἑστῶσιν (subj.) Cyn. [10.8] (conj.) (δὲ στῶσιν).
ἑστάναι Cyn. 6.2.
ἑστηκώς Ages. 1.36.
ἑστηκός (nt.a.) Eq.Mag. 5.6.
ἑστηκότα (nt.n.) Cyn. 8.7 (ἦ).
ἑστῶσαι Cyn. 9.20.
ἑστηκότας Eq. [3.4] (conj.) (παρεστηκότας).
ἑστώσας Cyn. 9.17.
εἱστήκει Ages. 2.26.
ἀφεστηκότων (m.) Ages. 2.24.
διεστώσας Cyn. 4.1.
διεστῶτα (nt.a.) Cyn. 5.30.
ἐφεστήκασιν Hier. 9.5.
ἐφεστῶτι (m.) Cyn. (10.21) (ἀφεστῶτι).
ἐφεστηκότων (m.) Eq. (4.3) (ἀφεστηκότων).
καθέστηκε Ath. 2.2.
καθέστηκεν Ath. 2.1.
καθεστᾶσι Ath. 1.18.
καθεστάναι Hier. 2.10.
προεστηκότι (m.) Eq.Mag. 6.3.
προεστηκότων (m.) Vect. 1.1.
συνεστῶτα (nt.a.) Cyn. 7.8.
συνεστηκότων (m.) Ages. 2.23.
κεκαινουργηκότας Eq.Mag. 3.5.
κεκαλλιερηκότες Lac. 12.7 (ὦσιν).
κεκαλλωπισμένην Hier. 11.2.
συγκεκαμμένῳ (nt.) Eq. 7.2.
κεχραμένον (nt.n.) Cyn. 5.5.
κεχραμένη Ath. 2.8.
συγκέχραται Cyn. 3.1.
κεκινημένης Cyn. 5.18. 9.16.
κεκινημένοι Cyn. 9.18 (ἔσονται).
μετακεκινημένας Lac. 15.1.
κεκλαγγυῖαι Cyn. (3.9) (κεκραγυῖαι).
προσκεκλασμένος Eq. 7.6 (εἴη).

κέκλινται Eq. 5.5.
ἐγκεκλιμένα (nt.a.) Cyn. 5.30.
συγκεκόμισται Cyn. 5.5.
κεκοσμῆσθαι Eq.Mag. 1.22.
καταχεκοσμημένος Hier. 11.3.
κατακεκριμένος Hier. 7.10.
ἀποκεκρυμμένοι Eq.Mag. 8.19.
ἀποκεκρυμμένα (nt.a.) Hier. 2.4.
κέκτηται Hier. 2.4. Vect. 3.14.
κέκτησθε Hier. 2.2. 2.2.
κέκτηνται Hier. 1.12. 2.6.
κεκτῇτο Ages. [9.7] (conj.) (κέκτηται).
κεκτῆσθαι LAC. 14.3. Cyn. 10.1. Eq. 10.6.
κεκτημένοι Vect. 4.4. 4.5.
κεκτημένους Hier. 6.16.
κεκτημένων (m.) Eq. 11.10.
κεκτημένοις (m.) Vect. 4.50. Eq. 3.10.
ἐκέκτητο Ages. 6.4.
ἐγκεκτῆσθαι Vect. 2.6.
ἀπεκτονέναι Hier. 2.16. 2.16.
ἀπεκτονότας Hier. 3.8.
ἀνακεκυφώς Eq. 7.10 (ᾗ).
εἰλῆφθαι Ages. 1.18.
προειληφυῖαι Cyn. 6.19 (ὦσι).
προσειληφότας Ages. 2.17.
ὑπειλήφασι Lac. 11.5.
λέληθεν Hier. 3.3.
λελήθασι Ath. 1.19.
λελήθῃς Eq.Mag. (4.15) (δεηθῇς).
λεληθέναι Hier. 2.5.
εἴρηκα Vect. 4.51. Cyn. 10.20.
εἴρηκας Hier. 1.7. 1.27.
εἴρηται Ages. 3.1. Vect. 4.33. Lac. 2.14. 5.1. Eq.Mag. 3.9. 4.16. Ath. 3.5. Eq. 10.11. Cyn. 6.12. 10.22. 12.1.
εἰρημένῳ (nt.) Eq.Mag. 4.12.
εἰρημένα (nt.n.) Eq. 9.1.
εἰρημένων (nt.) Vect. 6.1.
εἰρημένων (m.) Lac. [2.11] (conj.) (ἀρρένων).
ἀπειρηκότα (m.) Cyn. 6.25.
ἀπειρηκότι (m.) Cyn. 10.21.
προειρημένων (nt.) Eq.Mag. 2.7.
ἀπειλεγμένους Eq.Mag. 8.12.
καταλελειμμένα (nt.a.) Ages. 1.21.
παραλελειμμένα (nt.a.) Lac. 12.7.
λελύσθαι Eq. 10.16.
ἐκλελύσθαι Cyn. 5.5.
διαλέλυται Cyn. 5.5.
καταλέλυκεν Ath. 1.13.
μεμαθηκότος (m.) Eq. 10.15.
καταμεμαθηκέναι Hier. 1.4.
μεμελετηκώς Eq.Mag. 1.25.
μεμελετηκότα (m.) Eq.Mag. [7.14] (conj.) (μεμελετηκότως).
προμεμελετηκότες Ath. (1.20) (προσμεμελετηκότες).
μεμέληκεν Vect. 4.14.
μεμεληκέναι Eq.Mag. [4.7] (conj.) (μεμελετηκέναι).
μεμηχανημένος Hier. 11.4 (εἴης).
μεμνῆσθαι Hier. 1.10. Eq.Mag. 8.9. Cyn. 10.15.
μεμνημένων (m.) Vect. 4.25.
νενικηκότας Cyn. 12.5.
ἐνενικήκει Ages. 2.5.
κατανενόηκας Hier. 1.22.
κατανενοηκώς Ages. 2.28.
οἶδα Hier. 1.2. 1.17. 2.6. 10.2. Ages. 1.1. Vect. 4.5. 4.10. 5.11. Lac. 14.2. 14.3. Cyn. 13.4. Ath. 3.3. Eq.Mag. 3.5. 9.4.
οἶδ'(α) Hier. 1.7. 1.19. 1.23. Eq.Mag. 8.7.
οἶσθα Hier. 1.23.
οἶδε Ages. 5.1.
οἶδεν Hier. 2.17. Ages. 7.4.
ἴσμεν Lac. 8.1.
ἴσασι Eq.Mag. 4.5. 9.8. 9.9. Cyn. 5.17.
ἴσασιν Hier. 2.9. Cyn. 7.12.
εἰδῇς Hier. 6.13.
εἰδῇ Hier. 1.15. Lac. 6.2.
εἰδῶσιν Hier. 6.14. Eq.Mag. 2.8.
εἰδείην Hier. 1.1.
εἰδεῖεν Hier. 10.4. Cyn. [12.21] (conj.) (εἰδοῖεν, εἴδοιεν).
ἴσθι Hier. (1.27) (πλεῖστον). 7.10. 7.13. 11.15.
ἴσθ'(ι) Hier. 1.8.
ἴστω Eq.Mag. 9.8.
εἰδέναι Hier. 1.1. 1.2. 1.37. 3.6. Ages. 5.6. Eq.Mag. 4.11. 4.11. 4.16. 5.1. 5.5. 8.4. 9.1. Lac. 12.4. Cyn. 12.4. Eq. 3.5. 5.3. 6.3. 7.18. 9.4. 9.10. 11.7.
εἰδώς Ages. 3.3. 6.7. 7.2. Ath. 2.14. Eq.Mag. 4.6. 4.6. Vect. 4.27.
εἰδότα (m.) Hier. 6.15.
εἰδότα (m.) Eq.Mag. 1.4.
εἰδότος (m.) Eq.Mag. 4.6. 4.6.
εἰδότες Cyn. 12.6. 12.10. 12.19. Ath. 2.18. Lac. 5.7. Ages. 1.38.
εἰδυῖαι Cyn. 3.7.
εἰδότων (m.) Ages. 5.6.
εἰδόσιν (m.) Cyn. 1.7.
εἰδόσι (m.) Vect. 4.1.
ᾔδει Ages. 9.5. 11.2.
προειδώς Cyn. 2.2.
συνειδυῖαι Cyn. 3.7.

ἀπολωλέναι Hier. 4.11.
ἀπολωλότας Hier. 3.8.
ἀπολωλότων Ages. 2.24.
ὡπλίσθαι Eq. 12.1.
ὡπλισμένοι Hier. 2.8. Eq. 12.9 (εἶεν).
ὡπλισμένους Hier. 6.4.
ὡπλισμένα (nt.a.) Lac. 11.9.
ἑώρακε Cyn. 6.10.
ἑώρακεν Cyn. 5.31.
ἑωράκαμεν Cyn. 13.1.
διωρισμένους Eq. 1.14.
κατορωρυγμένους Eq. 4.3.
πεπαιδευκέναι Eq. 5.1.
πεπαιδευμένοι Cyn. 13.5.
πεπαιδευμένοις (m.) Lac. 11.7. Cyn. 12.16.
πεπαμένους Lac. [6.4] (conj.) (πεπαυμένους).
πεπονθέναι Ages. 4.1. 2.27.
πεπονθότες Ages. 4.4.
πεπειραμένος Hier. 2.6.
πεπειραμένον (m.) Hier. 1.2.
πεπερακόσιν (m.) Lac. (4.7) (πεπρακόσιν).
ἀναπέπταται Cyn. 5.11.
ἀναπεπταμένοι Eq. 1.10.
πεπτωκότος (m.) Cyn. 10.14.
ἀναπεπτωκότας Eq.Mag. 3.14.
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